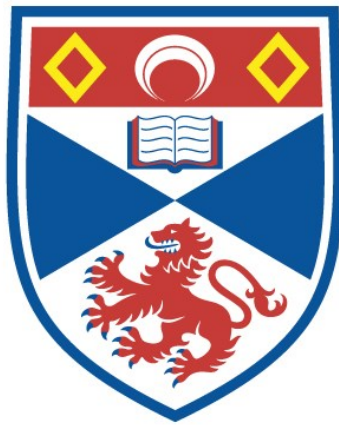


**JAN KOCHANOWSKI'S PSAŁTERZ DAWIDÓW IN THE
CONTEXT OF THE EUROPEAN TRADITION**

Ben Sanders

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



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Abstract:

This thesis examines Jan Kochanowski's vernacular verse translation of the Psalms, *Psałterz Dawidów* (Kraków, 1579), in terms both of its formal composition and its content, and illustrates the poet's debt to western Europe. It will be seen that his innovations in versification owe much to developments in the vernacular literatures of Italy and France, while the content of *Psałterz Dawidów* shows evidence of Kochanowski's use of neo-Latin works.

Following the methodology employed by scholars in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the author of this thesis has re-examined the question of Kochanowski's use of sources. A comparison between Kochanowski's text and vernacular and Latin translations (prose and verse) and commentaries published in or before 1579 broadly confirms the findings of earlier studies while at the same time identifying a new source of *Psałterz Dawidów*, John Calvin's commentary on the Psalms (*In librum Psalmorum, Iohannis Calvini commentarius* (Geneva, 1557)).

Furthermore, this thesis attempts to challenge the view expressed in previous studies that Kochanowski's use of Protestant sources, and the use of his translation by Protestants, is evidence that the poet himself had Protestant sympathies. Having established that the character of the Reformation and Counter Reformation in Poland was markedly different from that in the rest of Europe, that Calvinism was not suppressed and, indeed, won the support of the majority of the *szlachta*, the author of this thesis suggests that Kochanowski's choice of Protestant sources was motivated by the merits of the individual works rather than, necessarily, by any firmly held religious convictions. Indeed, an analysis of his *œuvre* as a whole reveals that Kochanowski's works owe much to the humanist tradition and rarely provide any clear evidence of whether he was a Catholic or a Protestant.

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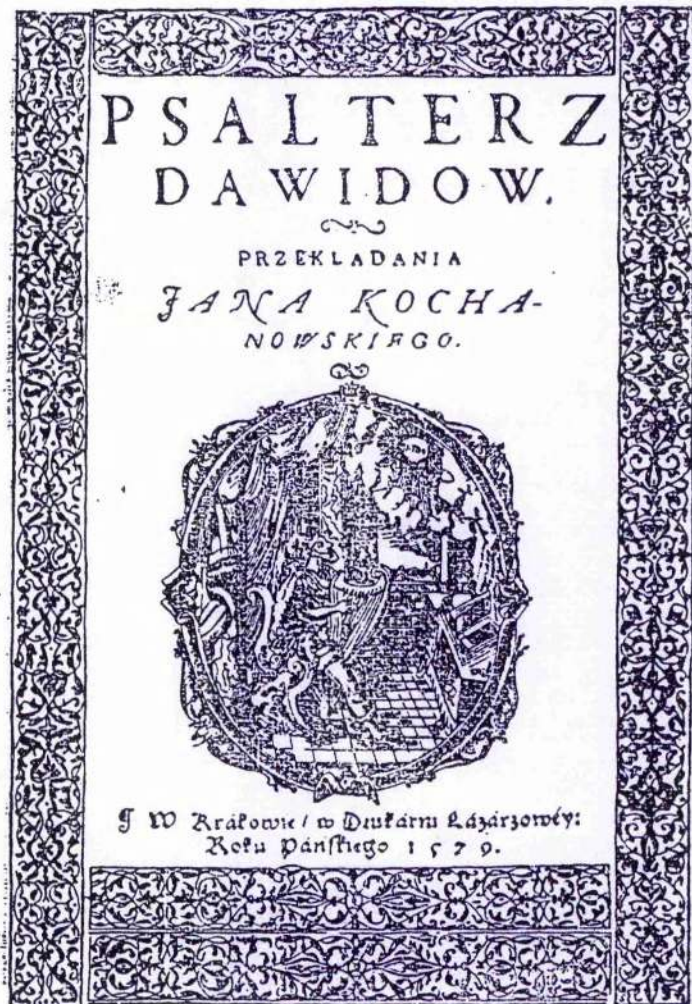
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Jan Kochanowski's
Psałterz Dawidów
in the context of the
European tradition.



Introduction.

It is the aim of this thesis to examine Jan Kochanowski's vernacular verse translation of the Psalms, *Psałterz Dawidów* (Kraków, 1579), and to establish not only its place in the European tradition of Psalm paraphrases, but also the translations, commentaries and verse models utilised by the poet in the course of his work on this text.

Surprisingly little is known for certain about the origins and composition of *Psałterz Dawidów*. The evidence available suggests that his work was supported, if not actually commissioned, by his friend and patron, Bishop Piotr Myszkowski. Such a supposition is supported by the dedication of the *Psałterz Dawidów* to Myszkowski,¹ who had commissioned Mikołaj Gomółka, "the greatest Polish composer of the Renaissance",² to set Kochanowski's Psalms to music. That these settings were published in 1580 suggests that Gomółka had begun composing at roughly the same time that Kochanowski was producing his translations of the text.³

As to the composition of *Psałterz Dawidów*, we know little more. Although attempts have been made by Stanisław Dobrzycki and others to date individual Psalms on the basis of what they see to be references in the text to events in contemporary Poland,⁴ the only real evidence available indicates that Kochanowski had written a paraphrase of thirty Psalms by 1571, and some of them a considerable time before.⁵ This letter is also of interest in that it tells us that the Psalm paraphrases were not originally conceived as a single work, but that the poet took some early attempts to

¹ In a letter of 6 October, 1571 to Stanisław Fogelweder, the poet writes that he was working on a translation of the Psalms which, when completed, he intended to present to the King, Zygmunt August. However, following the death of Zygmunt August (1572) and the ignominious return of Henri de Valois to France, Kochanowski changed his mind and dedicated the work to his patron, Piotr Myszkowski. There is no doubt that Myszkowski supported the poet financially, though the fact that Kochanowski wrote in 1571 that he was working on 30 Psalms suggests that he was not actually commissioned by the bishop. Rather, it seems likely that, knowing of the existence of these translations, Myszkowski persuaded the poet to extend his activities to encompass all the Psalms.

² Adam Zamoyski, *The Polish Way: A Thousand-Year History of the Poles and their Culture* (London, 1987), p. 123.

³ See R. Hunt, "Jan Kochanowski's 'Psałterz' and the Musical Settings of Mikołaj Gomółka", in: *Ian Kochanowski in Glasgow: Papers and Materials From the Jan Kochanowski Anniversary Symposium*, ed. D. Pirie (Campania, 1985), pp. 73-91 (p. 86).

⁴ The fullest account of the attempts by Dobrzycki and other scholars, including A. Brückner, B. Chlebowski, Pleniewicz, and Wójcicki, to date Kochanowski's translations of individual Psalms is found in S. Dobrzycki, "Psałterz Kochanowskiego: jego powstanie, źródła, wzory", *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności*, Wydział filologiczny, Series III, vol. 3 (Kraków, 1911), pp. 1-144; (pp. 102-109).

⁵ In his letter of 6 October, 1571 to Stanisław Fogelweder, the poet writes that he was working on thirty Psalms "i zdawnemi bych zaś wnieprawdzie niezostal". Although work on the Psalms appears to have begun in earnest in or around 1571, the reference to "old" translations, suggests that Kochanowski had already attempted a translation of individual Psalms at an earlier date and that, as a result of this commission, he revised them with a view to incorporating them into a translation of the whole work.

translate them, revised them, and expanded his conception of the work to include all the Psalms.

A comparison of *Psalterz Dawidów* with Kochanowski's other verse works allows us to make a number of assumptions about the manner in which he worked. Kochanowski, like many Renaissance poets, made extensive use of the work of other poets in his own verse works.⁶ This practice, known as *imitatio*, was an accepted and long-established method of composition, used by poets as far apart as Boethius⁷ and Buchanan.⁸ Expressed simply, the poet, having chosen the subject-matter of his verse, would then select the best classical or neo-classical example of this genre as a template. Thus an ode would often exhibit the influence of Horace, while an example of love poetry might contain elements drawn from Ovid or Catullus.

It is very probable that Kochanowski would have utilised this method of composition in rendering the Psalms into Polish verse also. Indeed, the fact that he speaks disparagingly of Eobanus Hessus' translation⁹ in the letter of 6 October 1571, and praises George Buchanan's paraphrases¹⁰ in a poem of 1568,¹¹ lends considerable weight to this contention. However, in order to translate the Psalms, he would also have required a number of other texts. As a non-theologian, Kochanowski was not in a position to understand the underlying meaning of the Biblical text which, owing to the manner of expression of the

⁶ See J. Glomski, "The role of *imitatio* in Jan Kochanowski's *Elegiae*, *Lyricorum libellus*, and *Pieśni*", *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, XX (1987), pp. 34-59; and H. Sobaczówna, "Jan Kochanowski jako tłumacz", *Prace polonistyczne studentów uniwersytetu Poznańskiego* No. 6 (1943), pp. 1-41 (p. 9).

⁷ Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius (c. 476-524), a Latin philosopher and Christian theologian. He is best known for his *Consolatio Philosophiae*, written in prison, which consists of five books in prose and thirty-nine poems in which he has imitated the style of the satirical poet Menippus.

⁸ R. Green, "George Buchanan's Psalm Paraphrases: Matters of Metre", in: *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Sanctandream: Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies — St Andrews 24 August-1 September 1982*, ed. I. D. McFarlane (New York, 1986), pp. 51-60 (p. 56).

⁹ *Psalterium Davidis carmine redditum per Eobanum Hessum* (Marburg, 1529). This appears to have been the first Latin verse translation of all 150 Psalms.

¹⁰ *Paraphrasis Psalmorum Davidis poetica nunc primum edita, Auctore Georgio Buchanano Scoto, poetarum nostri saeculi facile principe* (Geneva, 1566). Although a paraphrase of selected Psalms appeared in 1556, the Geneva 1566 edition is the first complete edition which has survived. It should be noted, however, that the existence of earlier editions has been claimed. Johannes Gaertner, "Latin Verse Translations of the Psalms 1500-1620", *Harvard Theological Review*, LXIX (1956), pp. 271-305 (p. 295) cites 1564 as the "Probable first edition of Buchanan's entire paraphrase", while Ian Macfarlane, *Buchanan* (London, 1981) suggests that an edition of Buchanan's paraphrase appeared in Paris in 1565.

¹¹ This poem, "Ad Buchananum", appeared as Epigram 68 in *Elegiarum Libri III, Eiusdem Foricænia siue Epigrammatum libellus* (Kraków, 1584). It reads:

Soluisti cura, et longo, Bucanane, labore
Omnes qui vatum nomen habere student,
Ne in cassum certent Solymæi carmina regis
Aptare ad Latiae fila canora lyrae:
Nam quicumque opus hoc aggressi aliquando fuerunt,
Tanto interuallo, tu Bucanane, præis
Omnibus, vt veniens ætas quoque non videatur
Ereptura tuis hoc decus e manibus.

Vulgate text, is often concealed. Thus it is reasonable to assume that he made use of other translations or commentaries. This viewpoint is shared by a number of scholars,¹² although they differ in their opinion about which texts Kochanowski used.

It is my contention that Kochanowski's rendering, which adheres more closely to the Hebrew text than to the Vulgate — although it is apparent in a great many passages that the poet has translated the text according to the Vulgate text, — relies on a number of non-canonical, even "heretical" texts. Such an assertion is defensible only if one has a clear understanding of the historical background, an overview of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Poland, and a realisation of the extent to which religious toleration existed in sixteenth-century Poland. Therefore, I shall begin by demonstrating that the circumstances necessary for an intellectual inquiry into the meaning of the Psalms, and especially for the use of materials prohibited by the Inquisition elsewhere in Europe, existed in Poland. Moreover, it will be shown that Kochanowski was encouraged and supported in his work on the Psalms by senior members of the Catholic Church, including the Primate, Jakub Uchański, and that they were aware that he was using these non-canonical works.

¹² See, for example, S. Dobrzycki, op. cit.; F. Hoesick, "Ze studyów nad Kochanowskim"; *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności*, Wydział filologiczny, Series II, vol. 29, pp. 329-396 (Kraków, 1908); J. Pelc, *Jan Kochanowski. Szczyt renesansu w literaturze polskiej* (Warsaw, 1980), pp. 397-432; A. Sienicki, "Stosunek Psalterza przekładania Jana Kochanowskiego do Paraphrasis Psalmorum Jerzego Buchanana"; *Sprawozdaniu dyrekcyi gimnazjum w Samborze za rok 1893*, pp. 3-65.

Chapter 1: Historical Background

1.1: The Reformation in Poland.

The effects of the Reformation in Poland were not as divisive or destructive as elsewhere in Europe. Even before the advent of Protestantism, Poland enjoyed a degree of religious freedom unparalleled in Europe, and was seen as a safe haven for Jews seeking to escape from persecution in Spain (1492) and Portugal (1496). Moreover, the union with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (1385) had brought a significant number of Orthodox Christians and Moslems within the borders of Poland-Lithuania. Significantly, religion was not a barrier to social or professional advancement,¹ and a number of the members of the *szlachta* continued to practise Islam, Judaism or Orthodoxy. Such instances of religious toleration are without parallel in Europe. Moreover, the Polish kings' policies towards the non-Catholic population of Poland-Lithuania were pursued despite pressure from the papacy which reminded rulers of their duty under canon law to force their subjects to convert to Christianity.

The percolation of Protestant teachings across the Polish border provoked a more measured response than in much of the rest of Europe. Lutheranism was adopted by the German population of the towns of north-west Poland, where it had taken a firm hold by the mid 1520s.

Preoccupied with moves by the *szlachta* to curtail the power of the Church, the clergy were slow to respond to the advent of Lutheranism. Although it was discussed at the synods of 1521, 1523, 1527, and 1530, no practical steps were ever taken to counter it. Indeed, some members of the clergy openly supported reform of Church practices. Jakub Uchański, for example, wrote a number of strongly-worded criticisms of the Church and, in 1555, even went so far as to declare himself in favour of the marriage of priests, communion in both kinds, and the use of the vernacular in the liturgy. Perhaps the most extraordinary example of tolerance, however, can be found in Gdańsk, where Bishop Drohojowski of Kujavia not only failed to condemn those who went over to Protestantism, but even made a number of concessions to them.

¹ Adam Zamoyski, *The Polish Way: A Thousand-Year History of the Poles and their Culture* (London, 1987), p. 79: "A high proportion of his secretaries were of plebeian stock, and Zygmunt felt no compunction in ennobling these [...] This favour transcended creed as well as class. The Jew Abraham Ezofowicz, whom Zygmunt elevated to the rank of Treasurer of Lithuania, did convert to Christianity before being ennobled (the Orthodox rite), but his brother Michał remained a practising Jew when he was elevated to the *szlachta* in 1525 — a case without parallel anywhere in Christian Europe".

With an open-mindedness rare even in purportedly ecumenical times, he sanctioned the takeover of the Church of St. John in Gdańsk by the Lutherans.... He also allowed the sharing of parish churches in his diocese by Catholics and Lutherans. He once reined in a priest who was carried away in the pulpit calling for the rooting out of heretical weeds, by observing that drastic weeding would only reveal how little good corn was left standing in the diocese.²

Thus, it was left to the crown to halt the incursion of Lutheranism. Zygmunt I passed a number of edicts banning the importation and propagation of Luther's works, and the Inquisition was established in every diocese in Poland. The edict of 1520 imposed the penalty of confiscation of property and exile for the importation of Lutheran literature, while that of 1523 stated that the propagation of Luther's teachings, and the importation and distribution of Protestant pamphlets would be punishable by the confiscation of property and death. However, there is no record of such strong sentences being handed down for heresy.

There was no such leniency, however, for those who incited civil disturbances in the name of religion. When, in 1525, the citizens of Gdańsk overthrew the city elders, closed the monasteries, and entrusted all teaching to Protestant preachers and the government of the city to a democratic body, the king reacted with extreme force. Mindful of similar events in Germany during 1525, Zygmunt I led an army of 8,000 men to Gdańsk in the spring of 1526. The Protestant citizens of the city were given two weeks to leave, while fourteen of the leaders of the uprising were executed.

However, Zygmunt I made no attempt to intervene in the affairs of his vassal, Duke Albrecht Hohenzollern of Prussia. Despite the Pope's insistence that Prussia was a fief of the Church, Zygmunt I asserted Poland's sovereignty and, in April 1525, concluded the first treaty between a Catholic monarch and a Protestant prince. Although Prussia was Lutheran, the king made no attempt to convert the population.

Similarly, he also withstood pressure from the papacy to interfere in the religious upheavals in Germany. Despite the insistence of Pope Paul III³ that Zygmunt I should help to suppress the Protestants in

² Ibid., p. 82.

³ Poland had a peculiar relationship with the Vatican. A supposedly Catholic state, its rulers frequently ignored the wishes of the papacy. This is particularly apparent when one looks at the Catholic Church in Poland. Bishops were appointed not by the pope but by the king, a state of affairs without parallel in Europe. In theory candidates were submitted to Rome for the pope's approval, but A. Zamoycki (op. cit., p. 79) indicates that the wishes of the Vatican were often ignored.

Germany, the king maintained his neutrality, ordering his officials in all lands bordering Germany (9 August, 1546) to abstain from offering assistance to either side.

Zygmunt I did, however, pass a number of edicts prohibiting Poles from travelling to Protestant countries. The first of these appeared in 1534, and non-compliance was punishable by the confiscation of property and exile. In 1540 a second decree was issued, prohibiting the sons of the Polish gentry from studying at Lutheran universities — especially those at Wittenberg and Leipzig, — or at those suspected of Protestant leanings. Those already attending the universities named in this decree were to be withdrawn within six months. This proclamation threatened confiscation of property and death; however there is no evidence to suggest that it was ever enforced. Indeed, Poles continued to send their sons to these universities, which were deemed to offer a better humanist education than that available at the university in Kraków. Under pressure from the *sejm* the decrees of 1534 and 1540 were repealed in 1543.

Thus, the spread of Lutheranism — which was generally restricted to those towns in north-west Poland with a large German population — was halted thanks to the vigorous response of the crown. However, Zygmunt I died in 1548 and his son, Zygmunt August, who has sometimes been called "the epitome of the Renaissance monarch",⁴ was less decisive. Indeed, he had Protestant sympathies himself, accepting the dedication of works by Calvin and Luther,⁵ and sending Francesco Lismanino to the Protestant printing centres of Europe to buy books.⁶ It was largely because of Zygmunt Augustus' tolerant attitude towards Calvinism that it took a firmer hold in Poland than had Lutheranism.

However, Calvinism flourished in Poland essentially because of its appeal to the *szlachta*, a fact which ultimately ensured its survival. Unlike Lutheranism, which reinforced the position of the monarch as the head of both church and state, Calvinism enshrined the right of the people to oppose royal oppression of those loyal to the faith. That is not to say that

⁴ Ibid., p. 73.

⁵ J. Tazbir, *A State without Stakes: Polish Religious Toleration in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ([Warsaw], 1973), p. 51: "Sigismund August was credited with pro-Reformation leanings by both the Catholic and Protestant side. Some evidence of this was seen in the manner in which he received the books sent to him by Reformation leaders. Martin Luther, for example, dedicated to him a copy of the *Bible*, translated by himself, bound in silk with silver framing. Calvin presented him with his *Commentary on the Letter to the Hebrews*, while Sigismund August himself secured other Lutheran books from Duke Albrecht of Prussia".

⁶ Ibid., p. 44: "Later it turned out, however, that the queen's confessor, the Franciscan, Francis Lismanino, and her physician George Blandatra were both supporters of the Reformation. When in 1554 King Sigismund August sent Lismanino on a book buying mission for the royal library, in Geneva he declared himself a supporter of Calvin." Tazbir also suggests (ibid., p. 45) that Zygmunt August's library was augmented by the Protestant Andrzej Trzeciecki and by John of Koźmin.

Calvinism prospered solely because of political expediency, for there were undoubtedly many members of the gentry — such as the Radziwiłł family, which brought Calvinism to Lithuania, established Calvinist schools, and used their political influence to ensure its survival, and the Oleśnicki and Leszczyński families who financed similar centres of learning and publishing — who were true converts. Indeed, J. Miller goes as far as to assert that "Calvinism in Poland was primarily a religious, not a political program."⁷ However, it is certainly true that Calvinism held an appeal for the *szlachta* which Lutheranism and Antitrinitarianism, both of which were strongly repressed by the crown and parliament, did not.

Moreover, there was a process of democratisation⁸ which ran independently of the Reformation. Aimed first and foremost at the privileges and immunities enjoyed by the Church,⁹ this so-called "executionist" movement¹⁰ — a political, rather than a religious movement, — ensured the survival of the Reformation in Poland.

Stressing the need to adhere more strictly to existing laws, and to root out corruption and abuses, the executionists waged war against the Church. It was largely thanks to them that the diocesan courts were abolished in 1562, and that the Church was forced to contribute for the first time to the defence of the realm in 1563.

However, the executionist movement's most important contribution was to unite the *szlachta*. The fear of the establishment of legal precedents which could be used to attack the rights of all members of the *szlachta* caused the gentry, and not only those who supported the Reformation, to oppose Zygmunt August's attempts to combat, and to legislate against, Calvinism.

⁷ J. Miller, "The Sixteenth-Century Roots of the Polish Democratic Tradition", *Polish Democratic Thought from the Renaissance to the Great Emigration: Essays and Documents*, ed. M. Biskupski and J. Pula (Columbia University Press, 1990), pp. 11-28 (p. 15).

⁸ A. Zamoyski, op. cit., p. 87: "The Reformation in Poland was not at bottom a spiritual movement. It was a sally by the articulate classes who made use of the liberating challenge of Luther to further a process of intellectual and political emancipation which had started long before. The *szlachta* which had done everything possible to curtail the power of the crown seized eagerly on the possibilities offered by the movement for reform in order to break the power of the Church."

⁹ J. Tazbir, op. cit., p. 50: "Starting around the middle of the XVth century, the antagonism between the gentry and the clergy continued until the end of the Polish Commonwealth. It originated long before anyone dreamed of religious reform and continued long after the decline of the Reformation. The same devout noblemen, submissive to the clergy in matters of faith, opposed them firmly when material possessions were at stake. They objected to the estates of the church, to the tithe which it collected and to its freedom from defense burden. The gentry also objected to certain class privileges of the clergy, notably those which had practical aspects such as the matter of jurisdiction".

¹⁰ This movement of political reform, known as the "movement for the execution of the laws" or the "executionist movement", gets its name from the fact that it sought not to win new concessions, but for the implementation and stricter observance of those laws which had already been passed. This was extended to include a campaign against corruption and against the special privileges and immunities enjoyed by the Catholic Church.

Catholic voters elected Calvinist deputies because they were executionists, and Catholic deputies voted with the executionist Calvinists on issues such as the demand for a national Church, on the abolition of ecclesiastical tribunals, and on the law forcing the Church to contribute financially to defence. Even at the height of the Reformation no Pole, be he a Catholic, a Lutheran, a Calvinist or an Arian, was prepared to place religious issues before constitutional and legal ones.¹¹

The executionists were in a strong position to gain concessions from the king. Every parliament between 1549 and 1559 was turned into a battle between the executionists' demands and the king's need for finances with which to support the war between Lithuania and both Sweden and Muscovy.¹² In 1562 the king capitulated to the *szlachta's* demands for a *sejm* to investigate alleged royal abuses of the demesne laws. The Execution of the Laws called for by the gentry took place between 1562 and 1567, but it fell short of the nobles' demands, leaving them feeling resentful towards the king, who was perceived as having ignored the Protestant demands for a break with Rome and having compromised the union with Lithuania.

The *szlachta's* self-interest lay in attempting to ensure religious tolerance in Poland, with the majority of the parliamentary sessions in the reign of Zygmunt August being used to obtain legal confirmation of religious freedoms which the nobility already enjoyed *de facto*. The policy of religious tolerance which, with a few exceptions, had been observed in Poland since the late fifteenth century, became protected by law following the *sejm* of 1555. This was a truce, a politically expedient solution to the religious debates that had occupied parliament. In return for a guarantee "to abstain from further expansion, disturbances or blasphemy"¹³, a proposal giving equal rights to both Catholics and Protestants was voted through.

Under this proposal every member of the nobility would have the right to profess freely the new faith and to keep its clergymen. The priests would be allowed to marry and the faithful to take the sacrament of communion under both forms. All the verdicts of

¹¹ A. Zamoyski, op. cit., p. 88.

¹² The power of the *szlachta* is further illustrated by the battle which Zygmunt August faced when trying to push through the Act of Union, which was finally signed in July 1569. It took four *sejms* in the five years to 1568 and a show of force in March 1569, when three provinces of the Grand Duchy were annexed by the Kingdom of Poland, in order for him to get agreement.

¹³ J. Tazbir, op. cit., p. 67.

the ecclesiastical courts in matters of faith were to be quashed. These provisions were to remain in force until the convocation of a universal or national Council.¹⁴

Religious tolerance, however, did not amount to total equality for, while equal rights were accorded to nobles of all faiths, primacy remained with the Catholic Church which was to remain the official Church in Poland.

The requirement to abstain from further expansion or disturbances was not met by either side. The Protestants sought to expand, while the Catholics sought to recapture what they had already lost. However, the Counter-Reformation, the fight-back by the Catholic Church, was a slow process. The Protestants continued to have a decisive majority in the *sejm*, with only two nobles attending mass following the opening of the *Parczów sejm* of 1564.

In the end it was the *szlachta*'s subordination of religious questions to political goals which brought about the collapse of the Reformation in Poland. Lacking cohesion and a clear leader, and now deprived of its impetus, Protestantism stalled. At the same time, the Catholic Church, having discovered a new vigour, went on the offensive, winning back many of those who had gone over to Protestantism. The Counter-Reformation scored a major success in 1570 when Mikołaj Radziwiłł, son of the man who had introduced Calvinism into Lithuania, returned to the Catholic Church.

However, the Counter-Reformation was conducted with a restraint and a pragmatism not witnessed elsewhere in Europe. The Jesuits, introduced into Poland in 1564, used persuasion rather than punitive measures,¹⁵ as is attested by the numbers of those burned to death for heresy. According to A. Zamoyski

The Calvinist writer who chronicled the course of the Counter-Reformation in Poland, and listed every execution or sectarian killing of a Protestant between 1550 and 1650, came up with a total no higher than twelve. During the same period, over 500 people were legally executed for religious reasons in England, and nearly 900 were burnt in the Netherlands [...]¹⁶

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ A. Zamoyski, op. cit., p. 89: "Hosius and Skarga pinpointed the principal arguments for returning to the fold, letting time do the rest."

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 90-91.

In conclusion, then, the Reformation, a religious movement calling for reform and for freedom of worship for religious dissenters, was politicised in Poland into a movement determined to protect and to extend the civil rights of the nobility,¹⁷ which were interpreted as including freedom of worship. It is this freedom of worship, coupled with the humanist traditions of intellectual inquiry, which will be important when we come to examine the question of the sources of Jan Kochanowski's *Psałterz Dawidów*.

1.2: The Development of Polish Literature

1.2.1: A New Dynamic in Polish Culture: the Role of the *Szlachta*

The Reformation brought with it an upturn in literary activity.¹⁸ Although much of the literary output of the second half of the sixteenth century consisted of religious, primarily Protestant, pamphlets and other religious tracts, at this time we nonetheless witness the first fruits of secular literature too.

In truth, this new flourish of literary activity was neither as sudden as T. Grabowski would have us believe, nor was it strictly a product of the Reformation, although Protestantism undoubtedly influenced the birth of writing in the vernacular. Rather, like the *szlachta*'s attempts to democratise the government of Poland-Lithuania, it stemmed from the changing dynamics in the literary sphere.

In fifteenth-century Poland literature still followed the same patterns as it had in the late Middle Ages. It was still very much the preserve of the clergy,¹⁹ many of whom came from the lower classes.

¹⁷ This is illustrated by the articles of the covenant which was incorporated into the coronation ceremony. Norman Davies, *Heart of Europe: A Short History of Poland* (Oxford, 1984), p. 296: "At the insistence of Zamoyski, who steered the detailed negotiations which followed the death of Sigismund August in 1572, the kings were henceforth to be elected *viritem*, that is, directly by the mounted assembly of the entire nobility. What is more, they were not to be crowned until they had sworn to uphold a lengthy covenant, whose articles guaranteed the principle of [religious] toleration, the practice of free royal elections, the regular convocation of the Sejm, the surveillance of royal policy by sixteen resident senators, the nobility's personal privileges, the nobility's right to approve taxes, declarations of war, and foreign treaties, and finally, the nobility's Right of Resistance".

¹⁸ T. Grabowski, "Z dziejów literatury kalwińskiej w Polsce (1550-1650)", *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności*, Wydział filologiczny, Serya II, tom XXVII (Kraków, 1906), pp. 250-488 (p. 255): "Upatrywano nie bez słuszności wpływ genewskiego stylu nawet u kaznodziei katolickich, sam prąd religijny przyczynił się do budzenia żywej literackiej twórczości, zwłaszcza w dziedzinie satyr, polityki, religijnej wymowy".

¹⁹ A. Wyczański, "Średnia szlachta i jej rola w kulturze polskiej XVI wieku", *Jan Kochanowski 1584-1984 Epoka-Twórczość-Recepcja*, ed. Janusz Pelc (Lublin, 1989), vol. 1, pp. 129-141 (p. 130): "Grupa pisarzy XV w. była niewielka i liczyła 43 osoby. Jej skład jest jednak charakterystyczny, gdyż

However, the clergy, the elite of the Middle Ages, quickly lost their position in the early part of the sixteenth century. From being 88% of those producing literary works in the late fifteenth century, they slipped to 71% in the first half of the sixteenth century and then to just 43% in the second half of the century.²⁰ That we are seeing a democratisation of literature can be seen by following this new dynamic. For it was not only the clergy that were displaced, the teachers of the university at Kraków was also badly affected, dropping from some 58% of those engaged in writing literary works in the second part of the fifteenth century to just 26% in the first half of the sixteenth century.

That the Reformation in Poland was a political rather than a religious movement, as suggested above, is borne out by the subject-matter of the literary works. In the first half of the sixteenth century, at a time when Lutheranism was trying to establish itself in Poland, only five writers are linked to the Reformation, and literary works dealing with theological matters come in fourth behind philological works inspired by the Humanists' desire to understand better the Classical world (which accounts for 40% of literary works), poetry — chiefly Neo-Latin verse (29%), and works dealing with politics. It is true that the second half of the sixteenth century saw a renewed concern with theological matters, corresponding to the Catholic Counter-Reformation — Catholic clerics constituted 25% of those engaged in literary output, whereas only 18% were Protestant writers, — however, the majority of literary works were produced by the laity.

This concern with matters connected with the Renaissance and Humanism coincided with an increase in the numbers of students being sent abroad to study. In the first half of the sixteenth century only 62% of Poles studying at university were enrolled at the university of Kraków, 15% fewer than in the last half of the fifteenth century. It is significant

dominują w niej duchowni, stanowiąc 88% zbiorowości [...] Z punktu widzenia pochodzenia społecznego szlachta stanowi w niej około 1/3 zbiorowości [...]"

²⁰ Here and elsewhere the statistics attesting to the changing dynamics in literature and the increased involvement of the *szlachta* in the development of Polish culture in the sixteenth century are derived from A. Wyczański's article.

It should be noted that this decline in the percentage of clergymen producing literary works does not correspond to a decline in the actual numbers of individuals involved, although it is certainly the case that a number of church benefices were granted to writers such as Kochanowski in order to provide them with an income. Indeed, a closer look reveals that the number of clergymen involved actually increases, for 43% of 154 writers (the number given by Wyczański for the second half of the sixteenth century) is greater than 88% of only 43 writers. What these numbers do reveal, however, is a change of emphasis, an increase in the role of the laity in literary output. This decline was halted in the seventeenth and early-eighteenth century, when the majority of printing presses were controlled by monastic orders and by the Jesuits (see Paulina Buchwald-Pelcowa, *Cenzura w dawnej Polsce: Między prasą drukarską a stołem* (Warsaw, 1997), p. 271).

that this flowering of literary activity in Poland, like the democratisation of government, appears to have been driven by the *szlachta*.

Accounting for only one-third of those engaged in literary activity in the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century, their involvement rose dramatically in the second half of the century, accounting for some 61%, of which two-thirds were members of the laity. Thanks to them, Poland began to produce works connected with the language and culture of ancient Greece and Rome, with law, politics and military matters, with medicine, geography, astronomy and education, and with literary matters — prose, verse and drama. Although these works were mainly written in Latin, increasingly often in the second half of the sixteenth century works of literature were composed in the vernacular. Once again, it was the *szlachta* who drove the reform forwards, introducing the vernacular as the language of government and of literature:

We wspomnianych postulatach szlacheckich pojawiają się w latach 1534, 1538, czy 1547/1548 żądania wprowadzenia języka polskiego do literatury religijnej, prawnej, historycznej itd., a w 1543 r. sejm walny uchwala pierwszą konstytucję po polsku, jednocześnie wyrażając na prowadzenie po polsku ksiąg sądowych.²¹

By the time that Kochanowski composed his *Psałterz Dawidów*, the vernacular had even been adopted by the Catholic Church for use in religious services, although it is not clear whether these services were conducted entirely or only partially in Polish.

Although a large number of books continued to be imported from western Europe, there was an increase in domestic printing during the sixteenth century. The number of titles being printed each year in Poland doubled between the first and second half of the century,²² and new publishing houses sprang up to cope with the new demand for books. Not only that, but they also fulfilled political and legal functions, promulgating royal edicts, parliamentary proclamations, and matters of law.

Thus, it was the *szlachta*'s concern with politics, reflected in their attempts to limit the power of both the Church and the king, and their

²¹ A. Wyczański, op. cit., p. 136.

²² Ibid., p. 135: "W każdym radzie gdy w pierwszej połowie wydawano w Polsce średnio ok. 50 tytułów rocznie, to w drugie połowie ok. 110 tytułów, nie mówiąc o masowym imporcie książek z zagranicy."

interest in literature, principally poetry, which drove the expansion of literary activity in the second half of the century²³ and which distinguished the *szlachta* as the single most important social group in Polish political and cultural life in the sixteenth century.

1.2.2: Censorship

Much of the literary activity in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Poland took place outside the Church's control. While it was possible for the Church courts to control the suppression of heretical or unauthorised works²⁴ in the fifteenth century, the explosion of literary output in the sixteenth century, the establishment of Protestant publishing houses,²⁵ and the limitation of the Church's powers required the Catholic Church to formulate a more effective system of control.

Despite the existence of Papal bulls concerning the censorship of works deemed to be heretical, there is no evidence to suggest that any censorship laws were passed in Poland until the 1520s. Moreover, the *Index librorum prohibitorum*, a work listing those works which had been condemned by the Catholic Church as heretical, did not appear in Poland until 1603,²⁶ by which time the Counter-Reformation had taken firm hold.

There is little doubt that the Catholic Church in Poland underestimated the threat posed by Protestantism. The first edicts concerned only the import, publication or promulgation of works by Luther,²⁷ and were of only limited effect as can be seen by the fact that

²³ Ibid., p. 132: "Rozwija się także twórczość poetycka, preferowana raczej przez szlachtę, i pisarstwo polityczne, będące prawie wyłącznie domeną szlachty."

²⁴ There is no evidence to suggest that the Oktoich hymnal published by Swejbold Vehl in Kraków in 1491 was heretical. That it was printed in cyrillic (it is the earliest known cyrillic work printed in Poland) and, therefore, intended for use by the Ruthenian population of Lithuania appears to have been sufficient grounds for a fine to have been levied upon Vehl by the Church court (see Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland in two volumes. Volume I: The Origins to 1795* (Oxford, 1981), p. 148).

The Catholic Church's remit was extended in the seventeenth century to include "immoral" works, for example works of erotic verse. Works could also be banned or expurgated for political reasons, and responsibility for this rested with the crown which issued licences (privileges) for the printing of individual works or classes of work.

²⁵ For example, the printing press of Maciej Wirzbięta which was subsidised, if not entirely funded, by Mikołaj Rej, and which published several of Calvin's works.

²⁶ There were three editions of the Index in Poland in the seventeenth century. The first of these, compiled by Bishop Maciejowski was published in Kraków in 1603. The second edition, compiled by Bishop Zamoyski appeared in Zamość in 1604, and the one by Bishop Szyszkowski was published in Kraków in 1617.

²⁷ Compare this with the Papal bull "In cœna Domini", first issued by Innocent VIII in 1487 and subsequently revised several times, and which came to include works by John Huss, Martin Luther, John Calvin, and their followers (see P. Buchwald-Pelcowa, op. cit., pp. 266-267).

they were revised, extended and reissued several times (1520, 1523, 1526, 1534, 1540). The problem appears to have been that the penalties threatened by these edicts were too harsh, and the restrictions on personal freedoms contained in those of 1534 and 1540 too great, for them ever to have been vigorously enforced. Indeed, as has been shown in section 1.1, very few men and no members of the nobility lost their lives for heresy in the sixteenth century. While a number of book-sellers and those found in possession of heretical tracts were tried, in the majority of cases the individual was simply fined and the book burned.

The liberal Zygmunt August issued two edicts concerning the censorship of heretical books, one in 1556 and the other in 1568, both of which placed responsibility for the uncovering and punishment of those who infringed the censorship laws firmly with the ecclesiastical, and above all the diocesan, courts. This was nothing new: edicts published by Zygmunt I had made provision for the appointment of Inquisitors in every diocese, but these had been infinitely less successful than their counterparts in Italy and Spain.

Of course the Church was greatly handicapped by the power of the *szlachta*.²⁸ The sixteenth century saw the *szlachta* consolidate those rights which they already won, and win new ones for themselves. Faced by a united front, the Church was forced to make concession after concession, and its power dwindled. The strength of the *szlachta* virtually guaranteed the nobility immunity from prosecution for heresy, a right which was extended to burghers.

Unable to implement the heresy laws in full, the ecclesiastical courts were left with expurgating offending passages, and with fines and imprisonment of individuals, measures which were insufficient to stem the tide.²⁹ As a result the printing of Protestant books in Poland became

²⁸ The strength of the *szlachta* should not be underestimated. It is put in context by N. Davies, *Heart of Europe*, p. 299: "By comparison with other European states, where the nobility formed only 1 or 2 per cent of society, the Polish *szlachta*, at 8-12 per cent, was extremely numerous, and formed by far the largest franchised class in Europe".

²⁹ P. Buchwald-Pelcowa, op. cit., pp. 272-273 lists the full range of options open to the ecclesiastical courts, which had the power to prevent a work from being published, to insist on the correction or removal of objectionable passages, to withdraw a book from sale, and to fine, imprison or even exile not only the author but also the publisher ("[I]ts publication in print could be completely prevented, it could be cleaned, corrected (or even, as it was called — castrated) before or while being printed, or the print could be stopped, afterwards when the print was ready, the book could be condemned, its proliferation could be banned, it could be confiscated or even burnt on a stake (usually in the symbolic way — singular copies or even the separate leaves). All those who brought about the creation and proliferation of a book were punished very rarely. In Poland authors were punished or wanted to be punished quite exceptionally: the sentences on Bolestraszycki and Unrug were finally annulled, others in general avoided being punished as well. Printers and more rarely booksellers were imprisoned, usually for the short time, more often fined. Quite exceptional were cases where they were forced to give up their activity or to leave the place").

possible³⁰ despite the existence of edicts forbidding the printing and promulgation of such tracts. Moreover, it was inconceivable that the Catholic Church would succeed in preventing the import of Protestant books which had been banned elsewhere in Europe when the king himself was purchasing them,³¹ accepting dedications from Luther and Calvin,³² and when edicts of 1528 and 1545 guaranteed the clergy and university teachers the right to own and read them.³³

Thus, it is possible to see a direct correlation between the establishment of religious toleration and the proliferation of heretical books in Poland on the one hand and the strength of the *szlachta* and the curbing of the powers of the Catholic Church on the other.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 268: "The printing of Reformation books became however possible in Poland only after coming to the throne by Sigismund II August owing to the predominance gained in the country (and especially in the Seyms — Diets and regional councils) by the noblemen's movement of the laws execution".

³¹ See J. Tazbir, op. cit., pp. 44-45; A. Zamoyski, op. cit., pp. 85-86.

³² Ibid., p. 51: "Martin Luther, for example, dedicated to him a copy of the *Bible*, translated by himself, bound in silk with leather framing. Calvin presented him with his *Commentary on the Letter to the Hebrews*, while Sigismund August himself secured other Lutheran books from Duke Albrecht of Prussia." This is confirmed by A. Zamoyski, op. cit., p. 85: "He never outwardly sympathised with the Protestant movement but took a great interest in the whole question of reform, avidly reading all the dissenting tracts and treatises and accepting the dedication of works by Luther and Calvin."

³³ P. Buchwald-Pelcowa, op. cit., pp. 134-135: "W rozdziale pierwszym pisałam, iż król zabiegał już w 1528 roku i potem w 1545 o prawo czytania zakazanych księzek dla kaznodziejów i profesorów".

Chapter 2: Jan Kochanowski's Life and Works

2.1: An Overview of the Life of Jan Kochanowski.

Of those members of the *szlachta* engaged in literary pursuits, Jan Kochanowski (c. 1530-1584)¹ made perhaps the single greatest contribution to the development of a vernacular verse tradition.² Taking as his starting-point the existing verse tradition in Poland, which had not grown much beyond its mediæval roots and which still used primarily the medium of Latin, he grafted onto it European developments in versification. His works reveal the concerns of the *szlachta*: in addition to poetry he also dealt with historical³ and political themes,⁴ calling in 1562 for religious toleration,⁵ and he made some attempt at reforming, or at least standardising, Polish orthography.⁶

Educated initially at the university at Kraków, and subsequently abroad, the young Kochanowski was thoroughly imbued with the humanist tradition. His studies gave him a thorough grounding not only in Latin, in which many of his early works are composed, and in Greek, but also in Italian; and he reveals the influence of the Italian and French poetic schools, with which he came into contact. At a time when freedom of knowledge and inquiry was being curtailed by the suspicions of the Catholic Church, and when Europe, once united by the ideals of humanism and of the Renaissance, lay divided, Kochanowski's works are full of European influences and the spirit of humanism, and are free from

¹ It is difficult to date precisely either Kochanowski's birth or his death. While it is generally agreed that the poet was born in 1530 and died in August 1584, the date of his death (22 August, 1584) given on his tomb in the church in Zwoleń is not accepted by everyone. The author of the earliest-known biography of Kochanowski, written in 1612, asserts that the poet was born not in 1530 but two years later in 1532, while Sebastian Faber Klonowic in a poem of 1585 gives the date of his death as 16th rather than 22nd August 1584.

For a more detailed examination of the problems of dating Kochanowski's birth, see Janusz Pelc, "Jan Kochanowski, Creator of Polish National Literature and the Renaissance in Poland", *The Polish Renaissance in its European Context: Results of a conference commemorating the birth and death of Jan Kochanowski held at Indiana University, May 25-29, 1982*, edited by Samuel Fiszman (Indiana University Press, 1988), p. 321.

² "Nevertheless, in this respect the personal contribution of Kochanowski was considerable. Among the 58 categories of stanzas employed by the Polish writers during his lifetime, 39 specimens — a definite majority — were introduced by Kochanowski." Mieczysław Giergielewicz, "Jan Kochanowski's Versification", *The Polish Renaissance in its European Context*, p. 363.

³ *Iana Kochanowskiego O Czechu i Lechu Historia naganiona. Ktemu, O Cnocie, Y o sprosności pijaństwa* (1589); *Iezda do Moskwy, Y Posługi z młodych lat, aży przez wszytek czas przeszły wojny z Moskiewskim, oyczyźnie swej i Panom swym czynione Iego Książęcy M. y Pana, P. Krisztopa Radziwiła, Książęcia na Bierzach, y Dubingach, Pana Tróckiego, Podkanclerzego, y Hetmana Polnego W. K. Litewskiego: Soleckiego, y Boryszowskiego Starosty, &c. prawdziwie opisane, Przez Iana Kochanowskiego z Czarnolasu* (1583).

⁴ *Satyr Albo Dziki Mąż* (c. 1564).

⁵ This is the theme of his poem of 1562, *Zgoda*.

⁶ *Nowy Karakter Polski z Drukarnie Łazarzowej y Ortographia Polska Iana Kochanowskiego, Iego M. P. Łukasza Gornickiego, &c. &c. Iana Ianuszowskiego* (1594).

the sectarianism and propaganda which typified much of European literature of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation periods: indeed, his *Psałterz Dawidów* came to be used by Catholics and Protestants alike.

As a young man Kochanowski travelled widely outside Poland, attending universities in Prussia, Italy and possibly France.⁷ The once glorious Jagiellonian University in Kraków was in some considerable difficulty during the 1530s and afterwards, and its students were principally the sons of burghers and clerics. The education offered there was not as good as that of many of the universities abroad, where the humanist tradition continued to flourish. As a result, the sons of the nobility were sent abroad to study. Although Kochanowski spent three years at the Jagiellonian University, from 1544 until the death of his father in 1547, the greater part of his education was undertaken abroad. In 1551 he was a student at the Lutheran university at Königsberg, abandoning his studies there, according to a letter written by the young Kochanowski to his then patron,⁸ Duke Albrecht Hohenzollern, owing to ill health, specifically a recurring problem with his eyes.

Kochanowski spent the next three years (1552-1555) at the university at Padua. When the university was forced to relocate to Venice in 1555 following an outbreak of the plague, Kochanowski chose to travel around Italy, visiting Venice, Rome and Naples before returning to Königsberg to resume his studies there.

⁷ While it can be demonstrated that Kochanowski studied at the universities of Königsberg and Padua, there is no direct evidence of his having studied in Paris. However, in "Ян Кохановский и его значение в истории польской образованности XVI века", *Университетские известия*, XXXVIII, No. 11 (November 1897), p. 110 N. Glokke states: "По свидетельству биографа 1612 года [см. Przyborowski, Józef: *Wiadomość o życiu i pismach Jana Kochanowskiego*; Poznań 1857, стр. 49], наш поэт учился в Париже."

⁸ There is some evidence to suggest that Duke Albrecht's patronage of Kochanowski continued even after he had left Prussia. In his introduction to *The Dismissal of the Grecian Envoys* (Players Press, 1994), pp. 8-9, C. Kraszewski writes: "According to Jan Pilał, the poet's trip to Italy was made possible by the financial support of the Prussian prince".

This is supported by two documents contained in *Cochanoviana II: Materiały do dziejów twórczości Jana Kochanowskiego z lat 1551-1625*, edited by Mirosław Korolko (Wrocław-Warsaw-Kraków, 1986), p. 27. The first of these is a payment order for 50 Marks, presumably for travel expenses:

50 M[ark] dem Kochanowssky so M. G. Herrn um auss Gnaden gebenn vom
Her Burgraff.

and the second grants Kochanowski an annual stipend of 50 Marks paid in quarterly instalments:

Hans Kochanowsky — 50 M[ark], 2 Pferde
des quartel Reminiscere — 12 1/2 M[ark]
des quartel Pfingsten — 12 1/2 M[ark]
des quartel Michaeli — 12 1/2 M[ark]
des quartel Luczcie — 12 1/2 M[ark].

Following a brief break from studying in 1556, which he spent on his estate at Czarnolas, Kochanowski returned to Padua where the university had reopened. His studies were interrupted the following year by the death of his mother, and he went back to Poland. He returned to Padua, graduating the same year, before travelling via Marseilles to Paris, where he was to remain until 1559.

In 1559 he returned to Poland for good. Continuing to write verse, a pursuit which he had begun at the university of Königsberg, he became secretary to the king. His income was supplemented by the patronage of his friend, Piotr Myszkowski, who gave him two church benefices, at Zwoleń and Poznań. Kochanowski held these benefices until 1574.⁹

Kochanowski's career at court was both unremarkable and brief. His energies were devoted to literary pursuits, and he soon came to the attention of Mikołaj Rej, one of the best poets of the previous generation, who was generous in his praise.¹⁰ Early in the 1570s Kochanowski resigned his position as royal secretary and returned to his estate at Czarnolas to concentrate on writing.

Having chosen religious themes for some of his early works,¹¹ Kochanowski moved away from religion for a time. This was to change towards the end of the 1570s when he completed his work on *Psałterz Dawidów* (1579), and especially following the death of his daughter Orszula in the same year.

Jan Kochanowski died in Lublin on 22 August 1584 on his way to bring up the matter of his brother's murder at the *sejm*. However, he left behind him a legacy that was not to be restricted to Poland: there are echoes of *Psałterz Dawidów* in translations of the Psalms which appeared subsequently in Lithuania, Moldavia and Russia.

⁹ T. Grabowski, "Kochanowski wobec reformacji"; *Pamiętnik zjazdu naukowego im. Jana Kochanowskiego w Krakowie 8 i 9 czerwca 1930* (Kraków, 1931), pp. 326-337 (p. 336): "Gdy zrezygnował w r. 1574 z beneficjów, zbliżył się raczej do obozu katolickiego, gdyż dłuższe dzierżenie probostw było chyba przeciwne duchowi soboru trydenckiego i kontrreformacji."

¹⁰ Mikołaj Rej, *Zwierzyniec* (1562), "Jan Kochanowski. Przypatrz się, co umie pocziwe ćwiczenie, / Gdy ślachtetne przypadnie k'niemu przyrodzenie, / Co rozeznasz z przypadków i z postępów jego, / Tego Kochanowskiego, ślachcica polskiego; / Jako go przyrodzenie z ćwiczeniem sprawuje, / Co jego wiele pisma jasnie okazuje. / Mógł ci umieć Tybullus piórkiem przepierować, / Lecz nie wiem, umiałli tak cnotązafarbować."

¹¹ *Zuzanna* (1562), *Czego chcesz od nas, Panie, za twe hojne dary?* (1562), *Pieśń o potopie* (c. 1570).

Kochanowski was primarily a secular rather than a religious poet, a fact which is emphasised by Sante Gracioti who refers in "Religijność poezji Jana Kochanowskiego", *Jan Kochanowski 1584-1984 Epoka-Twórczość-Recepcja*, ed. Janusz Pelc, vol. 1 (Lublin, 1989), p. 331, to the relative paucity of Kochanowski's religious verse: "Byli tacy, którzy dostrzegając brak w religijnej poezji Kochanowskiego wyobrażenia Chrystusa, Matki Boskiej czy świętych, widzieli w tym dowód jego bliskości wobec pozycji protestanckich — co mogłoby być prawdziwe przez wzgląd na nieobecność kultu Marii i świętych, ale nie ze względu na brak postaci Chrystusa [...]"

2.2: Jan Kochanowski's Works: A Checklist.

The following checklist gives the title, place of publication and date of the earliest known edition of each of Kochanowski's works. Many of these only appeared posthumously: these are marked by an asterisk. This information has been obtained, if not *de visu*, then from K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia Polska* (Kraków, 1870-c. 1940), and from K. Piekarski, *Bibliografia dzieł Jana Kochanowskiego wiek XVI i XVII* (Kraków, 1934).

- 1 *O śmierci Jana Tarnowskiego*; Kraków, 1561.
- 2 *Zuzanna Jana Kochanowskiego*; [Kraków, 1562]. This volume also contains the canto "Czego chcesz od nas Panie za twe hojne dary?".
- 3 *Szachy Jana Kochanowskiego*; [Kraków, c. 1562-1566].
- 4 *Zgoda*; Kraków, 1564.
- 5 *Satyr Albo Dziki Mąż Jana Kochanowskiego*; [Kraków, c. 1564].
- 6 *Pamiętka Wszystkimi cnotami hojnie obdarzonemu, Janowi Baptyscie Hrabi na Tęczyńie, Bełzkiemu Woiewodzie, y Lubelskiemu Staroście*; [Brześć Litewski, c. 1570].¹²
- 7 *Pieśń o Potopie*; [Kraków, c. 1570].¹³
- 8 *Dryas Zamchana polonice et latine. Pan Zamchanus latine*; Lwów, 1578.
- 9 *Odprawa Posłów Graeckich Jana Kochanowskiego. Podana na Theatrum przed Krolem Jego Mścią y Krolową Jey Mścią, w Jazdowie nad Warszawą Dnia dwunastego Stycznia, Roku Pańskiego M.D.LXXViiij. Na Feście u Jego Mści Pana Podkanclerzego Koronnego*; Warsaw, 1578.
- 10 *M. T. Ciceronis Aratus restitutus per Ioannem Cochanoium*; Kraków, 1579.
- 11 *Psałterz Dawidow Przekładania Jana Kochanowskiego*; Kraków, 1579.¹⁴
- 12 *Siedm Psalmów Pokutnych Jana Kochanowskiego*; Kraków, 1579.
- 13 *De Expugnatione Polottei Ode Ioannis Kochanovii*; Warsaw, 1580.
- 14 *Ioannis Cochanoii Lyricorum Libellus*; Kraków, 1580.

¹² K. Estreicher, *Bibliografia Polska*, Part III, vol. VIII (Kraków, 1903), p. 366, does not acknowledge the existence of an edition dated 1570, asserting that the only extant copy of which he has knowledge, and which does not give either the place or date of publication, appeared in 1563.

¹³ K. Estreicher, *ibid.*, does not acknowledge the existence of an edition prior to that of Kraków, 1582.

¹⁴ Piekarski asserts that the edition of 1579, which is generally accepted as being the first edition, is actually the second edition and that the edition, which, according to the title-page, is dated 1587, is not the second edition at all, but in fact the first edition. In his opinion the date 1587 on the title-page of this edition is a misprint for 1578 caused by a simple transposition of the last two numbers.

- 15 *Pieśni trzy Iana Kochanovvskiego. O wzięciu Połocka. O statecznym sędzie R. P. O wczątwey Małżonce*; Warsaw, 1580.
- 16 *Threny Jana Kochanowskiego. Tales sunt hominum mentes, quali pater ipse Iuppiter auctiferas lustravit lumine terras*; Kraków, 1580.
- 17 *Iezda do Moskwy, Y Posługi z młodych lat, aż y przez wszystkie czas przeszły wojny z Moskiewskim, oyczyźnie swey y Panom swym czynione Iego Książęcy M. y Pana, P. Krisztopha Radziwiłła, Książęcia na Bierzach, y Dubingach, Pana Tróckiego, Podkanclerzego, y Hetmana Polnego W. K. Litewskiego: Soleckiego, y Boryssowskiego Starosty, &c. prawdziwie opisane, Przez Iana Kochanowskiego z Czarnolasu*; Kraków, 1583.
- 18 *Ioann. Cochánovii ad Stephanum Bathorrhœum Regem Poloniæ Inclytum Moscho debellato, et Liuonia recuperata. Epinicion. Anno a Christo nato MDLXXXII*; Kraków, 1583.
- 19 *Ioann. Cochánovii In nuptias illustrium Ioan. de Zamoscio, R. P. Cancellarii, & exercituum Præfecti: ac Griseldis Bathoreæ Christophori Transilvaniæ principis, et Sereniss. Stephani Poloniæ regis fratris, filiæ, Epithalamion*; Kraków, 1583.
- 20 *Fraszki Iana Kochanowskiego. Fraszki: tym książkom dzieła: kto się puści na nie Vszczypliwym ięzykiem, za fraszkanie stanie*; Kraków, 1584.
- 21 *Iana Kochanowskiego Epithalamium, na wesele ich M. Pana iego M. Krzystofa Radziwiłła, Książęcia na Bierzach, y z Dubinek: Hetmana polnego, y Podczaszego Xięstwa wielkiego Litewskiego, Borysowskiego, y Soleckiego Starosty: Y Iej M. Xiężny Katarzyny Ostrowskiej, Woiewodzanki Kiiowskiej. 27 Iulii. Anno 1578*; Kraków, 1584.
- 22 *Ioann. Cochánovi Elegiarum Libri IIII. Eiusdem Foricænia siue Epigrammatum libellus*; Kraków, 1584.
- 23* *Pieśni Iana Kochanowskiego Księgi dwoie*; Kraków, 1586.
- 24* *Proporzec Albo Hółd Pruski Iana Kochanowskiego*; Kraków, 1587.
- 25* *Wrozki Iana Kochanowskiego*; Kraków, 1587.
- 26* *Iana Kochanowskiego O Czechu i Lechu Historia naganiona. Ktemu, O Cnocie, Y o sprośności pijaństwa*; Kraków, 1589.
- 27* *Fragmenta albo pozostałe Pisma Iana Kochanowskiego*; Kraków, 1590.
- 28* *Nowy Karakter Polski z Drukarnie Łazarzowej y Ortographia Polska Iana Kochanowskiego, Iego M. P. Łukasza Gornickiego, &c. &c. Iana Ianuszowskiego*; [Kraków], 1594.

In addition to these published works, Kochanowski also began a translation, which was never completed, of Euripides' play *Alcestis*, entitled *Alcestis mężu od śmierci zastąpiła*.¹⁵ Information concerning this translation is limited, and it is not even known precisely when the poet worked on it.

An examination of the above list reveals that the majority of Kochanowski's works were published in the last few years of his life. Yet we know that Mikołaj Rej had read some of his verses before 1562. It is not certain which poems these were, but the comparison to Tibullus¹⁶ suggests that they may have been some of the *Pieśni* or his Latin epigrams, neither of which had been published at this stage. The circulation of Kochanowski's verse works prior to publication is further suggested by the fact that Andrzej Trzeciecki bestowed on him the title "poetarum in Polonia princeps" in 1568, at a time when only five of his works had been published.¹⁷ Furthermore, there is also evidence to suggest that Kochanowski's translation of a number of Psalms circulated in manuscript form before publication.¹⁸ The explanation for this apparent anomaly is expressed most clearly by N. Taylor:

After the dramatic caesura of Orszula's death, Kochanowski edited and revised all his previous poetic output, including his early Latin works, for what turned out to be mainly posthumous publication. In other words, the *Pieśni*, the *Fraszki*, and the Latin elegies and epigrams were finalized after the *Psalterz* and *Threny* had both been completed; so that the editorial sequence of publication is by no means the sequence in which these were written.¹⁹

¹⁵ Helena Sobczakówna, "Jan Kochanowski jako tłumacz", *Prace polonistyczne studentów uniwersytetu poznańskiego*, 6 (1934), pp. 1-41 (p. 9): "Do dziedziny dramatu należy tylko drobny fragment z 'Alcestis' Eurypidesa".

¹⁶ Mikołaj Rej, "Jan Kochanowski", *Zwierzyniec* (1562), lines 7-8: "Mógł ci umieć Tybullus piórkiem przepierować, / Lecz nie wiem, umiałli tak cnotązafarbować."

¹⁷ There is a parallel with the Scottish humanist, George Buchanan, who was styled "Poetarum nostri saeculi facile princeps" by his publisher, Robert Estienne.

¹⁸ The main evidence for this is found in the dedication to Sebastian Faber Klonowic's poem "Żale nagrobne na szlachetnie urodzonego i znacznie uczonego męża, nieboszczyka pana Jana Kochanowskiego" (1585), where reference is made to one of Paweł and Piotr Czerny's servants distributing manuscript copies of individual Psalms: "On wasz pieszczogłośny Jadam, z tamtego warsztatu / Dostając świeżej roboty, podawał ją światu. / Jemu najprzód było śpiewać pienie nowoczystne, / Toż zaś potem ostarzałe puszczać między inne. / Nacieszywszy naprzód uszy domowe swych panów, / Posyłał też nowe psalmy do innych ziemianów". This is apparently corroborated by Kochanowski himself in a poem to Jan Łaski: "Psalmę syłam, gdzie kogo nabożnego słyszę" (*Fragmenty*, II, 509).

¹⁹ Nina Taylor, "Jan Kochanowski and the First Polish Arcadia", *Jan Kochanowski in Glasgow*, pp. 27-43 (p. 36).

Thus, while Kochanowski's fame was largely posthumous, reaching its zenith during the Enlightenment, rather more of his works would have been known in his lifetime than is suggested by the above list.

2.3: Kochanowski's religious beliefs

2.3.1: Kochanowski's place in the Catholic-Protestant dispute

While the contradictory evidence²⁰ provided by his works will never allow Kochanowski's religious affiliations to be determined conclusively, it is a question which has been posed in previous studies of the poet,²¹ and in particular in connection with his religious verse. The subject cannot, therefore, be ignored in the present study.

Kochanowski has been claimed as a supporter by both the Catholics and the Protestants, and there is strong evidence to support both views. There is no doubt that Kochanowski's name was connected with the Reformation as a young man.²² He appears to have been patronised by Duke Albrecht while studying in Prussia, and at least one of the poems written while here or at Padua reveals Reformationist sympathies.²³ However, it is generally agreed that the poet retreated from these sympathies soon after his return to Poland.²⁴

²⁰ It must be remembered that several of Kochanowski's 'religious' poems were published only after being re-edited in the years following 1580, and that some, like *Fraszki* were added to at various times throughout Kochanowski's life. Thus we find some poems which are in favour of the Reformation and others that are critical of it.

²¹ See, in particular: Tadeusz Grabowski, op. cit.; Sante Graciotti, "Religijność poezji Jana Kochanowskiego", *Jan Kochanowski 1584-1984 Epoka-Twórczość-Recepcja*, ed. Janusz Pelc, vol. 1 (Lublin, 1989), pp. 331-347; Jean Langlade, *Jean Kochanowski, L'homme, le penseur, le poète lyrique* (Paris, 1932), pp. 121-180; Paweł Rybicki, *Etyka Jana Kochanowskiego* (Warsaw, 1950), pp. 96-115; Wiktor Wientraub, "Religia Kochanowskiego a polska kultura renesansowa", *Rzecz czarnolesska* (Kraków, 1977), pp. 236-258.

²² Andrzej Trzeciecki in lines 309-310 of *De sacrosancte evangelii [...] origine, progressu et incremento* (1556) names Kochanowski among the supporters of the Reformation: "patriæque amplissima terræ / Gloria doctrina laude Cochanovii."

²³ W. Weintraub (op. cit., p. 237) singles out two of Kochanowski's Latin elegies. The first of these (I, 10) is a strongly worded attack on the clergy and on Pope Paul IV in particular, while the second (II, 5) calls on the Poles to reform the Church or face the wrath of God. This second elegy also attests to the fact that Kochanowski later retreated somewhat from his youthful extremism, for it was not included in the 1584 edition of his Latin verses.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 237: "[...] w młodych latach należał do obozu reformy religijnej, potem zaś, wkrótce po powrocie z wojażów zagranicznych, zadeklarował się jako katolik i ustosunkował do reformacji mocno krytycznie"; J. Pelc, "Kochanowski wobec polskiego i europejskiego renesansu", *Jan Kochanowski 1584-1984 Epoka-Twórczość-Recepcja* (Lublin, 1989), pp. 19-49 (p. 21): "Młody Jan Kochanowski [...] w połowie roku 1552, a także i w latach następnych, był zapewne sympatykiem nowinek protestanckich, był niewątpliwie krytycznie usposobiony wobec przewinień kleru, wobec wojowniczej postawy papieża rzymskiego. Dawał temu wyraz we wczesnych swych wierszach. Potem sympatie te stopniowo wygasły, a polemiki wyznaniowe nie pociągły Kochanowskiego zresztą nigdy."

That is not to say that upon his return Kochanowski became a wholehearted supporter of the Catholic Church. Indeed, he seems to have moved towards Catholicism only in the 1570s.²⁵ Nor was the Catholic Church in Poland diametrically opposed to Protestantism: there was a great deal of common ground, for many members of the Catholic Church were dissatisfied with Rome's refusal to compromise or reform. Kochanowski's apparent reluctance to commit himself to either side of the debate is borne out by the fact that he was patronised by both the Calvinist Radziwiłł family, to members of which he dedicated works in 1561 and 1578, and by the Catholic bishop Piotr Myszkowski at the same time.

However, the debate about whether Kochanowski was a Catholic or a Protestant did not begin in earnest until the middle of the seventeenth century and appears to be connected largely with *Psałterz Dawidów*. Following its publication, his Psalm translations were used in religious services by both Catholics and Protestants, and individual Psalms, as well as some of Kochanowski's other religious poems (in particular "Czego chcesz od nas, Panie"), appeared frequently in Protestant hymn-books and song-books.²⁶

It appears to be this Protestant use of Kochanowski's work that led to Bishop Krasicki's condemnation of *Psałterz Dawidów* in 1641. However, there is little evidence to suggest that this work was ever seriously considered heretical, for *Psałterz Dawidów* does not feature in any edition of the *Index librorum prohibitorum*.²⁷ Indeed only a handful of Kochanowski's works — three vernacular poems contained in the

²⁵ T. Grabowski, op. cit., p. 334: "Nie trzeba więc, jak to czyni się dzisiaj, określać Kochanowskiego jako wybitnego katolika. Religijnym on jest szczególnie później, w latach obaw o państwo i strat rodzinnych"; ibid., p. 336: "Gdy zrezygnował w r. 1574 z beneficjów, zbliżył się raczej do obozu katolickiego, gdyż dłuższe dzierżenie probostw było chyba przeciwne duchowi soboru trydenckiego i kontrreformacji."

This is confirmed by T. Halikowska-Smith, "Kochanowski's Humanist Philosophy of Life as Reflected in his *Pieśni*", *Ian Kochanowski in Glasgow*, pp. 45-61 (p. 61): "We know from conclusive evidence (Stanisław Kot and others) that in his youth the poet exhibited marked sympathies for the Reformation. [...] Nevertheless, by the end of his first stay in Italy, Kochanowski was greatly distressed by what he perceived as the deplorable effects of the Reformation: Europe torn in half and tormented by cruel religious war. [...] It is probably for this reason that in the later years of his life the poet retreated from his earlier Protestant sympathies, but he was never 'recruited' to the Counter-Reformation either".

²⁶ An examination of *Cochanoviana II. Materiały do dziejów twórczości Jana Kochanowskiego z lat 1551-1625*, ed. Mirosław Korolko (Wrocław-Warsaw-Kraków, 1986) reveals 18 works in which individual Psalms or *Pieśni* by Kochanowski are reproduced in full or in part (entries 22, 54, 55, 89, 100, 104, 108, 112, 113, 119, 123, 125, 135, 140, 142, 157, 162, 164), including two by Polish Brethren (Arians) and one by the Czech Brethren. W. Walecki (op. cit., p. 42) cites a further eight works from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Most, if not all, of these works are by Protestant authors.

²⁷ The inclusion of a work in the *Index* does not necessarily mean that it was heretical, just as its omission does not guarantee its orthodoxy. Paulina Buchwald-Pelcowa, *Cenzura w dawnej Polsce: Między prasą drukarską a stosem* (Warsaw, 1997), p. 272, informs us that: "In Indexes prepared by the Catholic Church we can find not only the names of writers considered heretics, followers of the Reformation, but also of Catholic clergymen. Even the works of such a zealous advocate of Catholicism as Cardinal Hosius were regarded unfavourably in Rome and by the Jesuits."

Fraszki and one Latin poem, "Carmen macaronicum",²⁸ — ever appeared in the *Index* first compiled in Poland in 1603 by Bishop Bernard Maciejowski.²⁹ Even then there is some doubt as to whether Kochanowski actually wrote the "Carmen macaronicum", for the author is identified only as J.K. in the 1603 *Index*, while the entry for 1604 reads "Jadkonis Lithuani Carmen polskolatinum".

It is worth taking a moment to set this alleged heresy in context. If, as appears likely, these charges sprang from the Protestant use of *Psałterz Dawidów*, then it was only because Kochanowski's translation was well-suited to such use, firstly because of its neutrality³⁰ and secondly because of Mikołaj Gomółka's musical settings. Moreover, we find a similar appropriation of Protestant texts by the Jesuits, who adopted many of the more popular features of Protestant worship during the Counter-Reformation.³¹

Thus, the question of whether or not Kochanowski's work was heretical is an anachronistic one. In the context of Counter-Reformation Poland such appropriations were tolerated by both sides. This did not stop Wespazjan Kochowski leaping to Kochanowski's defence, however. In 1674 he published a 44-line poem entitled "Apologia za Janem Kochanowskim wojskim sandomirskim poetów polskich wodzem, którego niektórzy rozumieją być heretykiem", in which he attempted to refute the allegations of Krasicki and others:³²

²⁸ M. Korolko, op. cit., p. 185.

²⁹ *Index librorum prohibitorum cum regulis confectis per patres a Tridentina synoda delectos. Auctoritate Pii IV primum editus, postea a Sixto V auctus et nunc demum S.D.N. Clementis PP VII iussu recognitus et publicatus* (Kraków, 1603). This work was subsequently expanded and reprinted in Zamość in 1604 and in Kraków in 1617.

³⁰ Rosemary Hunt, "Jan Kochanowski's *Psałterz* and the musical settings of Mikołaj Gomółka", *Ian Kochanowski in Glasgow* (Campania, 1985), pp. 73-91 (p. 81): "He [Kochanowski] avoided overt references to such concepts as 'hell' in favour of more expressive, denominationally uncommitted translations. [...] Another example of the 'secular' nature of the *Psałterz* is the absence of any doctrinal commentary, obligatory in previous paraphrases, in Buchanan also. This increased its appeal to Catholics and Protestants alike."

³¹ Ibid., p. 79: "When the Jesuits were invited into Poland in 1564, they began a widespread programme of religious education. Such was the influence of Protestantism that they realized they would be best advised to adopt some of the more effective methods of the dissenters in order to win the population [...] back to the Catholic Church. They therefore encouraged the use of the vernacular in their Church worship and employed some of the Protestant religious songs."

³² This work appeared as "Pieśń XXII" in Kochowski's first book of lyric verse, entitled *Niepró żnujące pró żnowanie*.

Apologia za Janem Kochanowskim wojskim sendomirskim poetów
polskich wodzem, którego niektórzy rozumieją być heretykiem

Żaluję twej, Janie, doli,
 Która mię jak własna boli,
 Obmownym że cię językiem
 Udają być heretykiem.
 Jakobyś Pańskiej owczarnie 5
 Odstąpiwszy, uwiązał marnie
 W błędach Lutra czy Kalwina,
 Jak to zbłądzić nie nowina.
 Więc cię bronie, żeby ludzie
 Nie wierzyli tej obłudzie. 10
 W której żywot wzięłeś wierze,
 W tej cię z świata zła śmierć bierze.
 Naprzód, a któryż zborowy
 Księgi przypisać gotowy
 Biskupowi? Jak on szczerze 15
 Myszkowskiemu śle *Psałterze*?
 Które w sobie gdy to mają,
 Że się z Kościołem zgadzają,
 Prawowierne pasterz pienia
 Swego świadczy od imienia. 20
 Niż w *Satyrze*! Czy li wiary
 Szukał w Genewie fary?
 Ni do Berna za Ren bystry
 Posyłał on po ministry.
 A w swej *Zgodzie* jako zgodnie 25
 Wiary broni, gani zbrodnie!
 Wyliczywszy złe kacerze,
 Fulminuje na nich szczerze.
Fraszki pisząc, gromi śmieie
 Tyż prawdy nieprzyjaciele, 30
 I wszędzie się im prezeciwi.
 By z nich był — cóż by mu krzywi?
 Jeśli jedna ta prywata,
 Trochę wspomniał że legata,
 Nie tylko on, każdy zgani! 35
 Bo po księdzu co u pani?

Jeżeli też z tej przyczyny,
 Że zwie ojcem, kto ma syny —
 Świętym nie chcę zawać żywego,
 Żart omówi niewinnego.
 Stąd tedy go chcę wymierzyć:
 Jak pisał, tak musiał wierzyć.
 Kto przeciwny w tym terminie,
 Pytaj się, gdzie zmarł w Lublinie.³³

40

Kochowski's "Apologia" is significant because it brings in others of Kochanowski's works. However, he only cites those of Kochanowski's works which clearly support his contention.³⁴ Kochowski has largely ignored those works which express religious sentiments³⁵ rather than merely broach the question of religion.

Of these omissions, the absence of any reference to *Zuzanna* (1562) is particularly significant, for, while it appears in the Vulgate translation of the Bible, the History of Susanna "was regarded as apocryphal by the Protestants".³⁶ Thus, on the face of it, *Zuzanna* is a work totally in keeping with Kochowski's position that Jan Kochanowski was a Catholic. However, the poem was dedicated to Elżbieta,³⁷ the mother of the prominent Calvinist Mikołaj Radziwiłł, whose family patronised Kochanowski from the early 1560s³⁸ until 1578,³⁹ if not till his death, and it contains a number of additions to, and omissions from, the Biblical text:

³³ W. Kochowski, *Utwory poetyckie: wybór, opracowała M. Eustachiewicz* (Wrocław-Warsaw-Kraków, 1991), pp. 44-46.

³⁴ For example, *Fraszki* contains two poems in which Kochanowski attacks Protestants as heretics (II, 52; III, 22).

³⁵ Kochowski's "Apologia" makes no reference to the cantos "Czego chcesz od nas panie za twe hojne dary?" and "Pieśń o potopie", the religious poems in *Fragmenty* (numbers 24, 26, 27, 28 and 55), and the poem *Zuzanna*.

³⁶ David Welsh, *Jan Kochanowski* (New York, 1974), p. 43.

³⁷ There is some doubt as to the intended recipient of this poem. While Alojzy Sajkowski ("Literackie związki Jana Kochanowskiego z Radziwiłłami", *450 rocznica urodzin Jana Kochanowskiego: księga referatów ogólnopolskiej sesji naukowej Zielona Góra 26-27 XI 1980 r.*, ed. W. Magnuszewski (Zielona Góra, 1985), pp. 27-43 (p. 31)) asserts that Kochanowski dedicated it to Elżbieta, David Welsh (op. cit., p. 43) states that "Kochanowski dedicated the poem to Mikołaj Radziwiłł, Patron of Calvinists in Lithuania".

³⁸ A. Sajkowski, op. cit., p. 31: "Musiał ten utwór powstać przynajmniej w r. 1561 (najpóźniej na jego schyłku), boć adresatka (tj. Elżbieta) zmarła w pierwszej połowie roku następnego".

³⁹ The last of Kochanowski's poems written for, or dedicated to, the Radziwiłł family is the "Epithalamium, na wesele ich M. Pana iego M. Krzystofa Radziwiła, Xiążęcia na Birzacz, y z Dubinek: Hetmana polnego, y Podczaszego Xięstwa wielkiego Litewskiego, Borysowskiego, y Soleckiego Starosty: Y Iej M. Xiężny Katarzyny Ostrowskiej, Woiewodzanki Kiiowskiej. 27 Iulii. Anno 1578."

[T]he Old Testament version provided no motivations for the characters or their "psychology", and Kochanowski had to invent these. So, for instance, he provides an account (lines 107 ff.) of the night spent by Susanna after the Elders have threatened to expose her (falsely) for taking a lover. This section, in which Susanna weeps, curses Fortune (a figure who appears throughout Kochanowski's poetry), and resolves to destroy herself, does not occur in the Apocrypha. Her extended speeches on Virtue are also Kochanowski's own invention [...]. By these and other alterations and additions to the Biblical text, Kochanowski greatly intensified the secular and moralistic nature of the poem.⁴⁰

However, it is worth noting that Kochowski fails to mention *Wróźki* (1587), a work which W. Weintraub cites alongside *Zgoda* and *Satyra* as works in which Kochanowski has taken a pro-Catholic stance.⁴¹

In the face of such equivocal and incomplete evidence it is not possible to say on the basis of his works whether Kochanowski was a Catholic or a Protestant writer. Indeed, his education in Prussia and Italy and his patronage by both the Radziwiłł family and Bishop Myszkowski suggest that he identified with both camps at different points in his life.

It is my opinion, however, that Kochanowski does not fit either pigeon-hole, for a great many of his works are neither pro-Catholic nor pro-Reformation. Let us remember that the religious question in sixteenth-century Poland was not necessarily phrased in terms of either/or. Indeed, quite apart from those individuals who revealed considerable sympathy for both sides, interpreting the question as both/and,⁴² there was a third stance, that of humanism.

⁴⁰ D. Welsh, op. cit., pp. 44-45.

⁴¹ W. Weintraub, op. cit., p. 245.

⁴² The most notable example of this being Bishop Myszkowski, who, according to Janusz Tazbir (*A State without Stakes: Polish Religious Toleration in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* ([Warsaw], 1973), p. 127) officiated at a wedding between two Lutherans.

2.3.2: Humanism: a brief history

No attempt is made here to define the concept of humanism, for it is not a constant. Rather, it developed over time between the collapse of the Roman Empire and the end of the Counter Reformation, a period of some twelve hundred years. Moreover, humanism is a broad church, containing a variety of different trends (e.g. Aristotelianism, Ciceronianism, epicureanism, neo-Platonism, Petrarchism, stoicism). Thus, I propose to give a brief outline of the development of humanism before examining the humanist elements which can be found in Kochanowski's works.

While the classical heritage was kept alive quite successfully in the Greek-speaking world,⁴³ the same cannot be said of western Europe. In the early mediæval period the western Church sought to fill the void left by the collapse of the Roman Empire.

Since it was based at Rome and communicated exclusively in Latin, the task of spreading Christianity to the peoples of northern Europe, who had assimilated little of the classical heritage and for whom Latin was a foreign and dead language, faced the western Church with a considerable problem. To tackle it, the Church needed a large number of priests and monks who were able both to communicate in the vernacular and also to read and write Latin. The study of Latin was understood to comprise only the study of grammar and rhetoric, which was seen as a suitable training for the preparation and delivery of sermons. However, as individual monks became expert in other areas they expanded the syllabus in order to pass on this new learning as well, and by the middle of the eighth century the monastic school at York was giving instruction in grammar, rhetoric, law, poetry, astronomy, natural history, arithmetic, geometry, music and the Scriptures.⁴⁴

However, this expansion of the curriculum, though initially regarded as desirable by the Church, which sought at this time to produce men capable of furthering biblical scholarship, led to a greater familiarity with classical literature and philosophy. These attempts by scholars to

⁴³ The fact that the Byzantine Empire could trace its ancestry through the demotic period back to Attic Greece meant that it had assimilated far more of the classical heritage than had the western Church, which had few ties to ancient Rome. As a result, the classical heritage was kept alive rather more successfully in the Greek-speaking world than in western Europe.

⁴⁴ R. R. Bolgar, *The Classical Heritage and its Beneficiaries* (Cambridge, 1954), p. 105.

gain a better understanding of the heritage of polytheistic Rome,⁴⁵ and even to assimilate elements of it, brought them into conflict with the Church. As long as the classical heritage had been regarded solely as a source of material needed for the study of Latin and for the teaching of those skills necessary for ecclesiastical and state administration, there had been no problem, but unrestricted access to classical literature would bring students into contact not only with things liable to offend Christian sensibilities (in particular, descriptions of licentious love), but also with things which could not be reconciled with Christian teachings. Pagan literature could not only instruct the young but also corrupt them.

Concerned about the potentially harmful influences of pagan literature and philosophy on the young, the Church, both in western Europe and in the Byzantine Empire, sought to restrain the spread of humanism. During the early mediæval period it had used schools to control the direction of investigation into the classical heritage, and repressive measures had been taken as and when necessary. As ecclesiastical control over the monastic schools weakened, the Church became more reactive than pro-active. Indeed, education made significant progress during the mini-renaissances of the ninth and twelfth centuries only to regress under pressure from the Church.

However, the situation changed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The old feudal states of Europe underwent a transformation. Their gradual relinquishment of the mediæval system of government had a profound effect and benefited the emergent middle-classes most of all. At the same time, the discovery of the New World brought great wealth to Europe. This new prosperity was embraced, and the acceptance of the accumulation of wealth and of social advancement led to an individualism which had previously been suppressed by the feudal system and by the teachings of the Church.

This change in attitude was mirrored in literature by Petrarch and his contemporaries, whose works look favourably on the chivalric hero and the 'good life'. At the same time, Petrarch changed the status of literature. It was possible for authors to gain recognition and fame by their writings. Therefore, literature came to be regarded as an end in and of itself, rather than as a means of learning correct Latin and rhetorical devices. The way was now open for the non-specialised study of classical

⁴⁵ I shall not devote any space to a discussion of the development of classical education in eastern Christendom, for the situation there differed significantly from that in western Europe. Moreover, the western and eastern Churches appear to have had little contact in the early mediæval period, and there is no evidence to suggest that the Latin scholars of western Europe studied Greek until the middle of the thirteenth century.

literature and of its forms. The study of literature for its aesthetic merit and as providing models for neo-classical literature, though witnessed to some extent in France in the tenth and eleventh centuries,⁴⁶ gained acceptance in early Renaissance Italy largely as a result of the activities of Petrarch and his contemporaries. As a result, this aspect of humanist endeavour, the expression of classical ideas and the imitation of classical models, has sometimes been referred to as Petrarchism.⁴⁷ Indeed, R. Bolgar goes so far as to suggest that Renaissance humanism is Petrarchism.⁴⁸

Although the new socio-political conditions prompted an explosion of literary works in the vernacular,⁴⁹ Petrarch insisted on the primacy of Latin and, to a lesser extent of Greek, as the two languages of literature. However, his championing of the formal, rather than the linguistic, imitation of the classical authors, and his rejection of logic and metaphysics, of Roman law and of medicine, mark a transition from mediæval to Renaissance humanism. Drawing heavily on Cicero, Petrarch "tended to emphasise morality rather than theology, to trust in the last analysis a personal relationship with God rather than the authority of the Church."⁵⁰

This emphasis on the individual proved particularly attractive to the reformists and, later, the Protestants,⁵¹ and it was they who were to provide the driving force for the further development of humanism. The

⁴⁶ Although the imitation of classical poets led to a flourishing of court poetry in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and a corresponding increase in the numbers of editions of Ovid, Horace, Persius, Juvenal and Vergil, the Church came to regard poetry as "the possible instrument of sin" (Bolgar, op. cit., p. 191). The study of literature became restricted to points of grammar and style, and the non-specialised study of literature for its aesthetic appeal ceased for nearly two centuries.

⁴⁷ For example, Jadwiga Kotarska "Antypetrarkizm w poezji staropolskiej. Rekonesans", *Literatura staropolska i jej związki europejskie: Prace poświęcone VII międzynarodowemu kongresowi slawistów w Warszawie w roku 1973* (Wrocław-Warsaw-Kraków, 1973) pp. 211-240, traces both the influence of Petrarch's ideas, concerns and methods on poetry in Poland and also those of others of his fellow-countrymen, such as Pietro Bembo and Pietro Aretino. However, these two tendencies, Petrarchism and anti-Petrarchism, can be placed under the single bracket of humanism.

⁴⁸ R. Bolgar, op. cit., p. 255: "It is not as the propagandist of imitation, it is not as the champion of antiquity in general, that Petrarch most deserves notice. His greatest service to European culture was to have formulated the Humanist ideology, which we may perhaps define as the noblest elements in Roman morality organised to serve the Renaissance spirit [...]"

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 318: "The Humanists who had stocked their minds with classical material for the purpose of writing Latin found it easy to use this material and to employ their techniques of imitation in the new medium of Italian. Indeed, their minds were so profoundly impregnated by classical ways of thought, their sensibility was so finely attuned to its classical model, that they could not help mirroring antiquity whatever the language in which they chose to write."

Bembo, Boccaccio, Castiglione and Dante were among the chief exponents of vernacular literature in Italy, while the Pléiade established a strong vernacular tradition in France. It is worth remarking that, while the emphasis on literary style is common to both the Italian and French tradition, the Pléiade succeeded in reviving classical verse independently of prose.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 255.

⁵¹ Indeed, Bolgar (ibid., p. 247) notes similarities between Petrarch and Calvinist thought: "It will be evident [...] that *virtus* and *fama* in Petrarch's thought bear a strong resemblance to the divine election and the salvation of the Calvinist."

study of the classics in Christian Europe had undergone an almost Hegelian development, with the Church providing the initial framework for education (the thesis), humanist scholars changing the curriculum and driving forward the study of logic, metaphysics and other aspects of the classical heritage of which the Church had been suspicious (the antithesis), and finally, after subtle changes in emphasis on both sides, the Church reaching some sort of qualified acceptance of the new ideas (the synthesis). Thus it was, perhaps, inevitable that eventually the Church and humanism would reach a compromise. Indeed, the preparatory work for such a reconciliation had been begun back in the eleventh and twelfth centuries,⁵² and was now made possible thanks to a change of attitude by such humanists as Erasmus.

Erasmus and his contemporaries, such as Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, were well aware of the incompatibilities between the classical authors and Christian thought, and of the need for compromise on both sides.⁵³ Conscious of the debt of humanist and Christian thought to the classical heritage, for the Church had long before accepted logic for use in proving theological arguments, and aware that Cicero and other classical authors had a system of ethics which were not totally incompatible with Christian teaching, they realised that there was enough common ground between the classical heritage and the Church for compromise to be possible.

The Church had long argued that pagan ideas and erotic verse were offensive to Christian sensibilities and, therefore, unsuitable for use in the classroom. Erasmus agreed. He was prepared to sanction the careful selection of authors and works. Only those authors whose works were considered unlikely to corrupt the young were recommended for study in schools, and those passages in which non-Christian ideas were presented were to be explained away by an allegorical interpretation, a method which had been approved by the mediæval Church for the interpretation

52 Ibid., pp. 189-190: "[Cicero's] moral doctrines bore such a strong superficial resemblance to the Christian ethic that they calmed the fears of even the most orthodox who were thus led into accepting points of view which in the final analysis rested on profoundly unchristian presuppositions. Virtue is a word which can cover a multitude of ethical aims; and Cicero's praise of it could sound for all the world like Augustine's. Only a philosopher trained in the ways of ancient thought — and there were not many such [in the eleventh and twelfth centuries] — was likely to notice that the Will which Augustine applied as a corrective to Nature, was realised by Cicero as Nature's handmaiden. Only a philosopher was likely to realise that Cicero considered men to be naturally good and not naturally corrupt as was the Christian view."

53 Ibid., p. 336: "He [Erasmus] had before him any number of living examples to illustrate his ideal and to impress both on his own mind and on the minds of his pupils precisely what limits had to be set to the imitation of the ancients and the imitation of Christ."

Karol Górski, "Humanizm chrześcijański a klimat kulturalny XVI wieku", *Jan Kochanowski 1584-1984 Epoka-Twórczość-Recepcja* (Lublin, 1989) pp. 75-83 (p. 77): "Humanisci zafascyzowali i wizję starożytności, i wizję chrześcijaństwa po to, by je do siebie zbliżyć."

of the Scriptures. Indeed, R. Bolgar tells us that Erasmus was prepared to state that all ancient poetry and a good deal of ancient philosophy was 'allegorical'.⁵⁴ This approach removed the Church's chief objection to the study of the classics, and the humanist principle of imitation was retained. Thus a hybrid, Classical humanism, was created.

However, the principle of selection was to mark the beginning of the end of humanism. Several of the prominent Reformists, growing increasingly impatient with the refusal of the Papacy to do anything about what they regarded as the deplorable state of the Church (in particular the practice of simony, the sale of indulgences, absenteeism and the opulent life-style of the Pope and other senior clergymen) or to sanction any correction of the Vulgate translation, broke away from the Church. Protected by the Elector of Saxony, Luther and his followers were able to mount a serious challenge to the authority of the Catholic Church.

The arrival of Protestantism had changed the nature of education. During the Reformation and Counter-Reformation periods both sides needed to produce, in a short space of time, large numbers of men able to read and write Latin and to understand the Scriptures. These needs were not unlike those of the Church in the fifth to seventh centuries, when it had set out to convert northern Europe. Just as in that early period, so too in the Reformation and Counter-Reformation periods, the Church had little use for much of the classical heritage.⁵⁵ While the Reformation preceded the Counter Reformation by thirty years or more, the educationalists of both camps, chief among whom were Philipp Melanchthon, Mathurin Cordier and Ignatius Loyola, all restricted the study of classical authors, recommending either those whose works contained nothing which offended Christian sensibilities or else the use of expurgated texts. The study of literature served one purpose only, to teach boys to compose correct Latin. While the Reformists produced a greater number of educational theorists than did the Catholics, it was the Jesuits who were to have the greatest effect on education, as can be seen by the evident success of the schools which they founded across Europe.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 339.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 360: "In Jesuit and Protestant schools alike, religious beliefs, the promptings of conscience and the problems presented by the Bible or theology took first place in everyone's mind. Literature came a poor second and was often despised. It could hardly have been otherwise; for a great number of the pupils at these schools were destined either for the Roman Catholic priesthood or for the Protestant ministry."

2.3.3: Kochanowski and Humanism

Kochanowski received part of his education in Italy, and it is apparent from his literary works both from this period and later that he was strongly influenced by the humanist method of education. Indeed, his choice of genres (e.g. epigrams, love poetry,⁵⁶ etc.) and the language employed in his poems indicate extensive use of imitation,⁵⁷ although the fact that he makes use of imitation even in his vernacular works indicates that Kochanowski was influenced less by Petrarch than by Boccaccio and the Pléiade, who approved of vernacular literature and the imitation of classical authors in the vernacular. Moreover, the presence in his correspondence of phrases or quotations derived from classical authors⁵⁸ suggests that he used a note-book⁵⁹ in which were recorded phrases, metaphors, synonyms, literary or rhetorical devices and anything else by which he had been impressed during the course of his reading.

Kochanowski's works place him firmly within the Christian humanist tradition, as can be seen from the fact that one of his more overtly religious works, the canto "Czego chcesz od nas, Panie", contains elements which point to a humanist conception of the world. This humanist *Weltanschauung* is present not only in his *Pieśni*, but also in *Fragmenty* (1590), *Fraszki* (1584), *O śmierci Jana Tarnowskiego* (1561), *Psałterz Dawidów* (1579) and *Treny* (1580).

⁵⁶ It is worth noting that some of his works of love poetry, in particular those written about Lidia, incline towards the sort of licentious, erotic love that had caused the Catholic Church to be wary of classical literature.

⁵⁷ Kochanowski's epigrams suggest the influence of Martial, his elegies reveal the influence of Tibullus, his love poetry bears similarities to that of Ovid, while his odes and much of the *Pieśni* reveal a debt to Horace. On imitation in Kochanowski's verse see in particular Jacqueline Głomski, "The Role of *imitatio* in Jan Kochanowski's *Elegiae*, *Lyricorum libellus*, and *Pieśni*", *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, XX (1987), pp. 34-59.

⁵⁸ Kochanowski's letter to Stanisław Fogelweder of 6 October 1571 contains a number of passages taken from classical works and quoted in full or in part. The Latin quotations are as follows:

1) "Qui fit Mæcenas"	Horace, <i>Satiræ</i> , I, line 1;
2) "Usque metu micuere sinus, [...]"	Ovid, <i>Heroides</i> I, line 45;
3) "Solus viri molles aditus et tempora nosti"	Vergil, <i>Aeneid</i> IV, line 423 (the line as Vergil wrote it reads: "Sola viri mollis aditus et tempora noras");
4) "quid enim promittere lædit"	Ovid, <i>Ars Amatoria</i> I, line 443;
5) "tractant fabrilis fabri"	Horace, <i>Epistolæ</i> II, I, line 116;
6) "Claus trabales et cuneos manu / Gestans ahena"	Horace, <i>Carmina</i> I, 35, line 18;
7) "Formido: quid agat da Venus consilium"	Quintus Catulus, <i>Epigramma</i> , line 6;
8) "Tu frontem nugis soluere disce meis"	Martial, <i>Epigrammata</i> XIV, 184, line 2.

In addition, Juliusz Domański is of the opinion that the phrase "okrutnej Konieczności" is a vernacular imitation of a phrase in Horace's *Carmina* I, 35, lines 17-19 (see: J. Domański "De Quinti Lutatii Catuli versu in Ioannis Cochranovii epistula ad Stanislaum Fogelwederum scripta citato observatiuncula", *Kultura staropolska — kultura europejska. Prace ofiarowane Januszowi Tazbirowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin* (Warsaw, 1997), pp. 331-335).

⁵⁹ R. Bolgar, op. cit., makes frequent references (e.g., pp. 23, 88, 269, 273-274, 322, 326) to the humanist practice of reading with a note-book in hand in order to collect together apt phrases or devices which could then be memorised and incorporated into one's own work.

What does an examination of these works tell us about Kochanowski's conception of God? It is worth noting that God is not a constant in these works. An analysis of "Czego chcesz od nas, Panie" gives a different answer to the question from that given by the other works cited above.

Czego chcesz od nas Panie, za Twe hojne dary?
Czego za dobrodziejstwa, którym nie masz miary?
Kościół Cię nie ogarnie, wszędy pełno Ciebie,
I w otłanach, i w morzu, na ziemi, na niebie.

Złota też, wiem, nie pragniesz, bo to wszystko Twoje, 5
Cokolwiek na tym świecie człowiek mieni swoje.
Wdzięcznym Cię tedy sercem, Panie, wyznawamy,
Bo nad to przystojniejszej ofiary nie mamy.

Tyś pan wszystkiego świata, Ty, niebo zbudował 10
I złotymi gwiazdami ślicznie, uhaftował:
Tyś fundament założył nieobeszłej ziemi
I przykryłeś jej nagość zioły rozlicznymi.

Za Twoim rozkazaniem w brzegach morze stoi,
A zamierzonych granic przeskoczyć sie boi:
Rzeki wód nieprzebranych wielką hojność mają, 15
Biały dzień, a noc ciemna swoje czasy znają.

Tobie k'woli rozliczne kwiatki Wiosna rodzi,
Tobie k'woli w kłosianym wieńcu Lato chodzi.
Wino Jęsień i jabłka rozmaite dawa,
Potym do gotowego gnuśna Zima wstawa. 20

Z Twej łaski nocna rosa na mdłe zioła padnie,
A zagorzałe zboża deszcz ożywia snadnie:
Z Twoich rąk wszelkie zwierzę patrzy swej żywności,
A Ty każdego żywisz z Twej szczodrośliwości.

Bądź na wieki pochwalon, nieśmiertelny Panie! 25
Twoja łaska, Twa dobroć nigdy nie ustanie.
Chowaj nas, póki raczysz, na tej niskiej ziemi:
Jedno zawsze niech będziem pod skrzydłami Twemi.

At first glance this canto, which Teresa Halikowska-Smith views as the most complete expression of Kochanowski's humanist beliefs,⁶⁰ has much in common with *Psałterz Dawidów*: the references to God's providence, to His control over the elements, to protecting men under His wings, and to the need for thanksgiving rather than sacrifices find frequent expression in the Psalms. However, Halikowska-Smith suggests that the description of the beauty and order of nature in these lines derives from a classical source, Cicero's *De natura deorum*,⁶¹ in which Balbus points to the natural order of things as proof of the existence of a deity. The fact that Balbus also refers to the sea being confined by divine will, and that the descriptions of the four seasons in lines 17-20 "are all typical representations of the seasons in Renaissance art",⁶² lends credence to her claims for a non-Christian origin for this work.

Like Cicero, Kochanowski points to the natural order of things as proof of the existence of a controlling force in the universe, in this case the Christian God rather than the deities of polytheistic Rome. No mention is made of violent storms and floods, with which the pagan gods and the God of the Old Testament threaten and punish mortal men. In this work God is said to restrain the sea (lines 13-14: "Za Twoim rozkazaniem w brzegach morze stoi, / A zamierzonych granic przeskoczyć sie boi:"), while the rivers and rain serve only to add to the abundance of good things on earth (line 15: "Rzeki wód nieprzebranych wielką hojność mają,"; lines 21-22: "Z Twej łaski nocna rosa na młde zioła padnie, / A zagorzałe zboża deszcz ożywia snadnie:").

In addition, Kochanowski, like Vergil and Petrarch, focuses on the 'good life', here described in terms of the abundance of food and the absence of anything harmful to man or the animals. Kochanowski differs from the classical authors, and shows himself to be a Christian humanist, in attributing the orderly arrangement of nature and the abundance of food to God's providence. Not only did God create the world (lines 9-14), but He continues to provide for, and protect, all that dwell there

⁶⁰ T. Halikowska-Smith, op. cit., p. 57: "Kochanowski's *Czego chcesz od nas panie* contains in a nutshell the *summa* of Renaissance man's beliefs about the universe and his place in it."

⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 57-58: "The aesthetic approach is very revealing here as it suggests a source of inspiration other than the Psalms. And one of Cicero's works with which he would undoubtedly have been familiar, is the treatise *De natura deorum*, particularly in its second part, in which Balbus the Stoic eloquently proves the existence of the gods by the beauty and harmonious functioning of the world. [...] To prove the excellence of the world's design, Balbus uses the argument that the sea does not overflow and flood the earth."

⁶² Ibid., p. 60.

David Welsh, *Jan Kochanowski* (New York, 1974), p. 49, views the references to the seasons as evidence of Kochanowski's humanist education: "The Song' also gives a picture of the world, built according to and functioning by harmony, that concept so valued by Renaissance humanists; the harmony is reflected in the ordered passing of the seasons of the year."

(lines 23-24: "Z Twoich rąk wszelkie zwierzę patrzy swej żywności, / A Ty każdego żywisz z Twej szczodrośliwości."; lines 27-28: "Chowaj nas, póki raczysz, na tej niskiej ziemi: / Jedno zawždy niech będziem pod skrzydłami Twemi.").

This conception of God as merciful and beneficent does not continue in Kochanowski's other works. While there are occasional references to God's mercy and providence, it is His cruelty in abandoning man to his fate that is stressed, and the words "Fortuna" and "los" (fatum) appear frequently.⁶³ This is expressed most clearly in *Treny*, Kochanowski's outpouring of grief following the death of his favourite daughter Orszula, but is also present in *Fragmenty* and *Fraszki*, works which he re-edited in this period and which are coloured by the grief and anger that he felt.

Despite the presence of numerous passages in *Psałterz Dawidów* in which reference is made to God ordering and controlling nature and to His providence, there are very few such passages in which apparently humanist elements cannot be explained with reference to the biblical text. One notable exception is the addition of a reference to fate in Psalm 40, lines 9-10: "Niechaj się na mnie Pańskim sądom przypatrują, / Którzy Fortunie rząd przypisują".

However, while it is rather harder to find obvious humanist elements⁶⁴ in *Psałterz Dawidów* than in Kochanowski's original works, the absence of a number of features nevertheless allows us to talk about Kochanowski as a humanist rather than as a Catholic or a Protestant.

The most striking feature of Kochanowski's translation of the Psalms which is the non-denominational nature of his work. At a time when the Catholics and Protestants were translating and re-translating the Scriptures and interpreting them according to the doctrines of their faith, Kochanowski remains outside the debate. As I have mentioned above, it is not possible to identify him with either side of the schism on the basis of his Psalm translations.

⁶³ In addition to these overt references, some of Kochanowski's poems place God in the role occupied by fate in classical literature. The most obvious example is found in *Fraszki*, one of which is entitled "Człowiek Boże igrzysko".

Kochanowski places a great deal of importance in the concept of virtue, the need for the attainment of which was touched upon by a number of humanists in the Renaissance period. Indeed, according to Halikowska-Smith (op. cit., p. 50) he regards it as the only thing which is not subject to the vicissitudes of fate: "Virtue, for him, like for the Stoics, is the only fixed point in a universe ruled by fickle chance and its personification, capricious Fortuna."

⁶⁴ On the presence of overtly humanist elements in *Psałterz Dawidów*, see S. Graciotti, op. cit., pp. 337-339.

Another feature of *Psałterz Dawidów* which should be noted here is the absence of Christology. The overwhelming majority of commentaries on the Psalms understand what is said about the establishment of David's kingdom as foreshadowing the future kingdom of God on earth, with David himself standing in place of Christ.⁶⁵ Without getting embroiled in a theological discussion, it is, however, possible to say that there is little justification for this in the text. The references to Christ derive from "christus", which the Latin translator of the Septuagint borrowed from the Greek "χριστός" (anointed), rather than translating it. This word is given a capital letter in many sixteenth-century translations. Kochanowski adheres to the text, frequently translating "christus" as "pomazany" or "pomazaniec".

These features, as well as the references to God's providence and to Fortuna cited by Graciotti, suggest that *Psałterz Dawidów* should be viewed in the context of the Latin verse translations of the Psalms prevalent in Europe at the time. Not only did the authors of these verse translations, like Kochanowski, allow themselves a degree of poetic licence most apparent in the contraction, expansion and omission of material present in the biblical text, but they frequently combined classical and Judæo-Christian imagery.⁶⁶ Thus they were, like *Psałterz Dawidów*, very much a product of their time.

It seems likely that it was this relative absence of overtly humanist elements in *Psałterz Dawidów* that caused scholars to examine this work for evidence of Kochanowski's religious affiliations and to search out corroborating evidence among his other works. However, there is rather greater justification for viewing Kochanowski's works as being outside the religious controversy of the time for, while some of his poems reveal a pro-Catholic or pro-Protestant stance, this is by no means true of all of them. Indeed, the impression one gets when reading many of the Latin poems, several of the *Pieśni* and the *Psałterz Dawidów*, is that Kochanowski's conception of God does not fully conform to that of either the Catholics or the Protestants. He believes in one God, but the deity in

⁶⁵ For example, the note to Pagninus' translation of Psalm LXI, v. 7 reads: "Hic David sibi promittit regnum diuturnum, quanquam certum est, hoc debere potius referri ad Christum." (Sanctes Pagninus, *Liber Psalmorum Davidis. Tralatio duplex, Vetus & Noua*. [...] *Adiectæ sunt annotationes [...] ex Commentariis Hebræorum ab ipso Vatablo diligenter excussis* (Paris, 1556)).

⁶⁶ While Kochanowski avoids classical references in *Psałterz Dawidów*, he does allow himself anachronisms (e.g. Psalm 128, line 21: "W rzeczypospolitej"; Psalm 148, line 31: "Wolne rzeczypospolite") and Polonisms (e.g. Psalm 68, line 77: "Rozgroń zbrojne harczerze, i groźne hetmany"; Psalm 76, line 7: "niż górni hetmani"; Psalm 83, line 19: "zacni hetmani"; Psalm 106, line 37: "sprzeczne hetmany").

his original poems is a benevolent God rather than the jealous and vengeful God of the Bible. Indeed, Halikowska-Smith goes so far as to suggest that Kochanowski's conception of God is intensely personal and, at times, more in keeping with paganism than with Christianity:

He never declared himself in denominational terms and the much-quoted line of the *Pieśń*: 'Kościół cię nie ogarnie, wszędy pełno ciebie', is surely more than a declaration of that pantheistic conception of God, so prevalent in the Renaissance. It has the force of a deeply held conviction and personal credo.⁶⁷

Thus it is, perhaps, unhelpful to think of Kochanowski's poetry in denominational terms. While it is true that he remained friends with a number of Protestants following his return to Poland (most notably Andrzej Trzeciecki and the Radziwiłł family), he also associated with a number of the leading Polish humanists of both faiths.⁶⁸ Humanism, it will be remembered, preceded and, in its ideal form, transcended the religious disputes of the sixteenth century.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ T. Halikowska-Smith, op. cit., p. 61.

Halikowska-Smith is not the only scholar to have noticed pantheistic tendencies in Kochanowski's verse. W. Weintraub, *Rzecz czarnolesska* (Kraków, 1977), p. 247, writes: "Apostrofa do Boga: 'wszędę pełno Ciebie / I w otchłaniach, i w morzu, na ziemi, na niebie' (*Pieśni* II, 25, w. 3-4), zdaje się sugerować, że i Kochanowskiego koncepcja Boga bliska jest panteizmowi."

⁶⁸ J. Pelc, "Kochanowski wobec polskiego i europejskiego renesansu", p. 22: "W czasie trzykrotnych włosko-padewskich wojaży Jana z Czarnolasu był on nawiedzany przez wielu znakomitych naszych humanistów. Z najbliższych późniejszemu twórcy *Fraszek* i *Trenów* wymieniamy tu Łukasza Górnickiego, którego zauroczył swym *Il Cortegiano* Castiglione, Andrzeja Patrycego Nideckiego — najwybitniejszego polskiego filologa doby renesansu, potem wydawcę *Fragmentów* Cyserona, Franciszka Maśłowskiego — tłumacza z greki na łacinę *De electione liber*, dzieła Demetriusza a Faleronu, drukowanego w Padwie w 1557 r. [...]" ; J. Ziomek, *Jan Kochanowski: rekonesans* (Warsaw, 1953), p. 13: "W latach, które Kochanowski spędza w Krakowie, działa tam znany krąg humanistyczny Trzecieckiego."

While it is not certain whether he remained in contact with all of the humanists whom he had met while in Kraków and Padua, he certainly continued his association with Trzeciecki and Górnicki, with whom he collaborated on *Nowy Karakter Polski z Drukarnie Łazarzowej y Ortographia Polska Jana Kochanowskiego, Ięgo M. P. Łukasza Górnickiego, &c. &c. Jana Januszowskiego* ([Kraków], 1594).

⁶⁹ J. Tazbir, op. cit., pp. 17-18: "[T]he humanists were shocked to see Christianity split by Luther's proclamation rather than renewed in harmony. At this point they parted. Some, led by Erasmus, regarded the division as temporary and urged its healing through negotiation and mutual concessions. Apparently overlooking the non-religious causes of dissension, they advised moderation to both sides and hoped for a victory of reason over emotions. In view of the successes scored by Lutheranism, Erasmus was even in favor of granting it temporary civil tolerance, though he approved reprisals against elements using the Reformation as an excuse for rebellion. [...] Many of the humanists, however, did not confine themselves to the role of observers of the struggle and took sides; some, as Philipp Melanchthon, joined the Lutherans, whi[l]e others — such as Thomas More — decided that tolerance of pagans is one thing and leniency toward heretics defying God and civil authority another."

While Kochanowski appears to be a Christian humanist writer insofar as his poems attempt to reconcile the pagan classical tradition (represented by the imitation of classical authors) with Christianity, the concerns of his poetry, his use of imitation, and his apparent use of a note-book (as recommended by such humanist educationalists as Chrysoloras and Erasmus), all point to him being a humanist first and foremost.

Chapter 3: *Psalterz Dawidów*

3.1: The Composition of *Psalterz Dawidów*

There is little information available on how Kochanowski translated *Psalterz Dawidów*. It is not possible to say with any certainty in which order individual Psalms were translated, or at what time. Indeed, scholars are unable to agree when Kochanowski began work on the Psalms, nor what prompted him to do so.

On the basis of the similarities between individual Psalms and passages in the *Pieśni* and *Fragmenty*, as well as what they have taken to be references in the text to events in contemporary Poland, some scholars have attempted to date a number of Kochanowski's Psalm translations. One of the most comprehensive studies of this kind was undertaken by Stanisław Dobrzycki, who claims to be able to date twelve Psalms with reasonable accuracy.¹ While he is only able to give approximate dates for a number of these translations — he asserts that Psalms 1, 15, 19, 33, 34, 44, 56, 100 and 116 were written in or before 1571, — he claims to be able to provide a more precise date for Psalms 20 (1567), 82 (c. 1574) and 128 (c. 1575). That Kochanowski was working on the Psalms as early as 1567 seems to be borne out by Wójcicki who

[...] miał znajdować psalmy Kochanowskiego w silvach rerum pod rokiem 1568, 1569 i 1570 [...], nie podaje jednak, które to były psalmy.²

Thus there is no doubt that Kochanowski was working on a translation of individual Psalms in 1566 or 1567. However, this does not necessarily explain the reference to "old" translations in Kochanowski's letter to Stanisław Fogelweder (6 October 1571). Rather, this enigmatic reference appears to suggest that the poet had translated some Psalms while he was still a student abroad. This view is supported by Bronisław Chlebowski,³ and by Tadeusz Grabowski, who writes:

¹ S. Dobrzycki, "Psałterz Kochanowskiego: jego powstanie, źródła, wzory", *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności*, Wydział filologiczny, Series III, vol. 3 (Kraków, 1911), pp. 1-144; (pp. 102-109).

² Ibid., footnote to p. 102.

³ Br. Chlebowski, *Pamiętnik literacki* (1905), p. 410: "Możnaby przypuszczać, na podstawie wzmianki w liście do Fogelwedera o 30 gotowych psalmach (licząc w to i dawne), że twórczość swą młody poeta rozpoczął od przekładu kilku psalmów, które pozostały w rękopisie, a może uległy zatraceniu w oddzielnych drukach ćwiartowych".

Zapewne i w atmosferze królewieckiej tkwiła religijna pobudka do przekładania psalmów, gdy znów zetknięcie się zagranicą z przyjacielem Buchanana, Karolem Utenhovem, mogło mu nasunąć pomysł opracowania parafrazy w duchu humanistycznym, [...] ⁴

Grabowski does not give a date for this meeting with Utenhove, but it must have been before 1559. Chlebowski asserts that Kochanowski began to work on individual Psalms as early as 1551. ⁵

It is clear from the evidence outlined above that Kochanowski began by translating individual Psalms, and that he did not translate them systematically, in numerical order. At some point, however, his conception of the project changed. No longer was it conceived as a translation of thirty Psalms, but rather as an attempt to render the entire Book of Psalms into vernacular lyric verse. There is nothing to indicate when Kochanowski's intentions changed, nor what prompted this huge undertaking. Indeed, the evidence available shows that he had thought a great deal about the problems of rendering the Psalms into verse, and of reconciling the demands placed upon him as a translator with the technical requirements of the genre of the Psalm translation in verse. While the question of Kochanowski's faithfulness to the original text will be investigated in the next chapter, it is sufficient here simply to indicate the main lines of this conflict, before examining the Psalms as works of lyric verse.

His letter of 6 October 1571 to Stanisław Fogelweder continues a discussion of the methodology of translation initiated by Fogelweder. This letter has not survived, but it is apparent from Kochanowski's reply that Fogelweder, with whom he had studied at the University of Padua, had given him some advice. However, Kochanowski writes that he is still finding it difficult to balance these two contradictory requirements — the need to remain faithful to the text, and the need to produce a work of polished lyric verse:

Co się ticze reguly, którą mi V[asza] m[iłość] napisał, abych iej strzegł *in vertendo*, iest barzo dobra i pewna Ieno ia miewam czasem pizac visyie, ukazuią mi się dwie boginie, iedna iest necessitas *Clauos trabales et cuneos manu Gestans athena* ⁶ a druga poëtika *Nescio quid blandum spirans*[.] Ti dwie kiedi mię

⁴ T. Grabowski, "Kochanowski wobec reformacji", *Pamiętnik zjazdu naukowego im. Jana Kochanowskiego w Krakowie 8 i 9 czerwca 1930* (Kraków, 1931), pp. 326-227 (p. 331).

⁵ Cited in S. Dobrzycki, op. cit., p. 102.

⁶ This is a quotation from Horace, *Carmina I*, 35, line 18.

obstąpią, niewiem co zniemi czynić *Formido quid agat da Venus consiliu[m]*.

The poet ends with a request for advice concerning "the Muses", by which he means, of course, how to render this text into verse. If Fogelweder replied, the letter has not survived.

In any case, work on *Psałterz Dawidów* was well advanced by 1574. Citing a poem by Sebastian Faber Klonowic,⁷ Dobrzycki asserts that Kochanowski's translation of some of the Psalms was circulating in Lublin in manuscript form not later than 1574.⁸ It is reasonable to assume that these manuscripts contained not only the thirty Psalms which Kochanowski was working on in October 1571, but a number of others as well.

There is some doubt as to when *Psałterz Dawidów* was published. The existence of the 1578 edition cited by J. Przyborowski⁹ has been denied by later scholars who assert that there is a printing mistake on the title-page, and that this edition in fact dates from 1587. Przyborowski's contention is apparently supported by the fact that royal privilege was sought and obtained for the 1579 edition. Royal privilege was expensive to obtain, and it was unusual, though not unheard of, for it to be sought for the first edition of a work. However, the privilege, dated 7 November 1579, states that the work had just gone to press. It is likely, therefore, that the publisher was trying to protect his investment, for there was little doubt that following the success of a separate edition of the Penitential Psalms¹⁰ earlier in the same year the limited number of copies of *Psałterz Dawidów* from this print run would sell well. Indeed,

⁷ In "Żale nagrobne na ślachtetnie urodzonego i znacznie uczonego męża, nieboszczyka pana Jana Kochanowskiego", S. Klonowic writes:

On wasz pieścogłośny Jadam, z tamtego warsztatu
Dostając świeżej roboty, podawał ją światu.
Jemu naprzd było śpiewać pienie nowoczynne,
Toż zaś potem ostarzałe puszczać między inne.
Nacieszywszy naprzd uszy domowe swych panów,
Posyłał też nowe psalmy do innych ziemianów.
Potem też przy dobrej myśli czasem sięprzydało,
Że się też to, choć nierychło, między gmin podało.

⁸ S. Dobrzycki, op. cit., p. 3: "Kiedy Klonowicz osiadł w Lublinie, nie wiemy; w r. 1574 jest pisarzem urzędu radzieckiego. Na te więc lata przypada rozszerzanie się psalmów pojedynczych w kopiach rękopiśmiennych".

⁹ J. Przyborowski, *Wiadomość o życiu i pismach Jana Kochanowskiego* (Poznań, 1857), pp. 85-87.

¹⁰ Jan Kochanowski, *Siedm psalmów pokutnych* (Kraków 1579).

Kochanowski's rendering proved so popular that there were 25 separate editions between 1579(?) and 1641.¹¹

Thus, *Psałterz Dawidów* which, if it was published in 1579, was probably completed the previous year, represented not less than seven years work by Kochanowski. It is a supreme achievement, representing some 6,000 lines of poetry, and a synthesis of Polish and European poetics. In this work, which he himself saw as the first work of Polish verse to rival those of the Classical poets, Kochanowski experiments with different line lengths, greater flexibility in the positioning of the cæsure, the combination of different line lengths in a single stanza, enjambement, and syntactic displacement, i.e. the placing of a word in a position other than that which is logically required by the grammatical arrangement of the surrounding words in the sentence. It has come to be seen by many as Kochanowski's manifesto, a demonstration of Polish poetics.¹²

3.2: Versification

3.2.1: Polish versification in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries

While Jan Kochanowski contributed greatly to the development of the Polish literary language, his most lasting contribution to Polish verse was in the field of versification. According to M. Giergielewicz, thirty-nine of the fifty-eight stanza types in use in Polish verse during Kochanowski's lifetime were introduced by Kochanowski himself,¹³ and of these thirty-nine the majority feature in *Psałterz Dawidów*.

At the end of the mediæval period there were a number of different systems of versification employed in Poland, all of them associated principally with religious texts. However, the direction in which the further development of Polish verse was to occur was determined by

¹¹ W. Weintraub, "Kochanowski's Fame", *The Polish Renaissance in its European Context*, pp. 303-320 (p. 308): "In the case of Kochanowski's works [...] it is not easy to ascertain the exact number of subsequent editions, because in order not to pay royalties, the poet's publishers sometimes disguised new reprints as parts of previous editions, publishing them under false dates. [...] To cite one instance alone, it turned out that Kochanowski's largest work, *Psałterz Dawidów* (*David's Psalter*), was published between 1579 and 1641 in no less than twenty-five editions, four of them bearing the date 1586, and seven dated 1608".

¹² S. Windakiewicz, *Jan Kochanowski* (Kraków, 1930), p. 165: "Przekład *Psałterza* był ważnym wypadkiem w życiu Kochanowskiego, bo stał się dla niego szkołą metryki polskiej i ujawnił jego upodobania w tej dziedzinie. Dzięki niemu poeta ukształtował swój system wierszopisarski, nadał mu znamiona stałości i utworzył pierwszy kodeks polskiej metryki lirycznej".

¹³ M. Giergielewicz, "Jan Kochanowski's Versification", *The Polish Renaissance in its European Context* (Indiana University Press, 1988), pp. 357-373 (p. 363).

mediæval Latin chants, some of which had been rendered into Polish, and by vernacular melic verse, i.e. verse intended to be sung or to be accompanied by instruments. The former tended towards isosyllabism, while the cadenzas of the latter helped shape the syntactic patterns of Polish verse and inclined poets towards certain line-lengths.

Isosyllabic poems in Latin began to be composed by Polish poets in the early part of the fifteenth century. All the lines in the earliest examples of this type of verse,¹⁴ which was an adaptation of the Latin alexandrine, contained thirteen syllables with a regular cæsura after the seventh syllable.

Other line-lengths were soon introduced. While the eleven-syllable and eight-syllable lines were to become the most popular of these innovations, lines of from four to sixteen syllables are often found. Lines longer than sixteen syllables were sometimes used, but these were largely experimental and, because they were cumbersome, did not become widely used.

It should be noted that, although this type of verse is, in theory, strictly isosyllabic, it was characterised in this period by frequent deviations, so that lines of different line-lengths are sometimes found in passages which are otherwise isosyllabic. M. Giergielewicz informs us that, one century after the "*Horæ Canonice Salvatoris*" was translated into Polish alexandrines, heterosyllabic tendencies still remained:

An example of this was the verse inserted in *Zbiór pieśni* by Hieronim Spiczyński (Wietor) published in 1522. [...] The principle of isosyllabism was violated once in the sixth line, which had twelve syllables. In a majority of lines there was a cæsura following the fifth syllable, but in five cases this interval was blurred.¹⁵

Such deviations from the principle of isosyllabism were widespread, a fact which has earned this type of verse the name "relative syllabism". This type of versification continued to be used in the first half of the sixteenth century.

At the same time attempts were being made to regulate the line lengths. While heterosyllabic lines, and the phrases which had become

¹⁴ The earliest example of this type of verse is a Polish translation of "*Horæ Canonice Salvatoris*". While it cannot be precisely dated, it is clear that it dates from the early part of the fifteenth century.

¹⁵ M. Giergielewicz, *Introduction to Polish Versification*, (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), pp. 8-9. This poem is supposedly composed in isosyllabic lines of eleven syllables, with a cæsura following the fifth syllable (5+6).

established around them, were tolerated as long as verse continued to be sung, the secularisation of literature brought with it a gradual shift in attitude leading eventually to a standardisation of prosody and the establishment of strict isosyllabism.

Thus, the first half of the sixteenth century is a transition period in the development of Polish versification. While Mikołaj Rej and others made conscious attempts to adhere to the principles of isosyllabic verse, and to develop this system of versification, others continued to write heterosyllabic verse. It is in this period that we find a degree of co-ordination between syntactic structure — the organisation of the content of the lines — and stanza type:

In most cases the lines coincided with the clauses or their definitely outlined parts, and the cæsura signaled the shift from the anticadanza to the cadanza. [...] The cumulative effect of the accord between syntax and verse could often be observed in the works of Rej [...] Every line constitutes a complete syntactic unit [...] The cæsura often coincides with some punctuation mark emphasizing the interdependence of verse and syntax. Only occasionally does Rej abandon this habitual scheme to transfer part of the sentence into the following line [i.e. to use enjambement] [...]¹⁶

The advent of the Renaissance in Poland, or rather the return of those who had studied in the universities of Western Europe and who had there come into contact with European vernacular literatures, specifically those of France and Italy, signalled the end of relative syllabism.

3.2.2: Kochanowski's contribution to Polish versification: isosyllabism and the stanza

Jan Kochanowski was very much a product of his Humanist and Renaissance education. Familiar with the developments in versification and vernacular verse in Western Europe, he was also conscious of the achievements of earlier Polish poets. Consolidating and building upon their innovations, he enriched the palette of Polish line-lengths and stanza structures by drawing upon non-native traditions, both vernacular and

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 15-16.

Classical. In this way Jan Kochanowski succeeded in taking syllabic verse a stage further.

Though he used some of the line lengths employed by his predecessors, Kochanowski also developed others. However, he did so not by changing the number of syllables in the line, — indeed he does not use lines shorter than five syllables or longer than fourteen, — but by moving the position of the cæsura. Present in all lines containing nine syllables or more, the cæsura provides a break not only in the sense of the line but also in its natural rhythm. Thus, the repositioning of the cæsura could be used to produce a different effect. For example, it was usual for ten-syllable lines to be symmetrical, i.e. with a cæsura following the fifth syllable (5+5), so creating two hemistichs each of five syllables. Kochanowski introduced a variant of the ten-syllable line with a cæsura following the fourth syllable (4+6). This creative use of the cæsura increased the repertoire of lines of nine- to fourteen-syllables in length from six to eleven:

14-syllable line:	(8+6), (7+7)
13-syllable line:	(8+5), (7+6)
12-syllable line:	(7+5), (6+6)
11-syllable line:	(4+7), (5+6)
10-syllable line:	(4+6), (5+5)
9-syllable line:	(5+4)

Examples of all eleven possible isosyllabic lines with a cæsura can be found in *Psalterz Dawidów*.¹⁷ Indeed, the symmetrical 12-syllable line, that variant in which the cæsura follows the sixth syllable, cannot be found in any of Kochanowski's works other than *Psalterz Dawidów*.

The following table contains a complete list of all the Psalms in which Kochanowski used only one line-length:¹⁸

¹⁷ The 11-syllable line with a cæsura following the fourth syllable does not occur on its own in this work, i.e. in a homogeneous poem, in which all the lines are 11-syllable lines with a cæsura after the fourth syllable, but only in combination with a 7-syllable line (Psalm 150).

¹⁸ As can be seen from the table, Kochanowski does not use all the available types of line. There are no examples in *Psalterz Dawidów* of the fourteen-syllable line with a cæsura after the sixth syllable (6+8), the thirteen-syllable line with a cæsura after the sixth syllable (6+7) or after the fifth (5+8), the eleven-syllable line with a cæsura after the sixth syllable (6+5), the ten-syllable line with a cæsura after the sixth syllable (6+4), or the nine-syllable line with a cæsura after the fourth syllable (4+5).

It will also be noted that Kochanowski's rhyme scheme is comparatively unsophisticated. Indeed, with the exception of type IVc (enclosing rhyme), IVd (alternate rhyme) and IVf (alternate rhyme plus paired rhyme), these Psalms, in which every line is of the same length, are composed exclusively in paired rhyme.

Type	Line Length	Cæsura	Stanza Length	Rhyme Scheme	Psalm(s)
Ia	14 syllables	8+6	Quatrain	aabb	80, 99
Ib		8+6	Octet	aabbccdd	119
Ic		7+7	Sextet	aabbcc	11
Ila	13 syllables	7+6	Couplet	aa	44, 68, 78, 83, 89, 104, 106, 132, 136
Ilb		7+6	Quatrain	aabb	Dedication, 1, 4, 12, 13, 21, 24, 29, 31, 36, 41, 54, 55, 59, 67, 71, 74, 120, 131, 137, 145
Ilc		7+6	10 lines	aabbccdee	6
Ild		8+5	Couplet	aa	18, 22
IIla	12 syllables	7+5	Couplet	aa	105, 147, 149
IIlb		7+5	Quatrain	aabb	3, 10, 77, 94, 103, 109, 121, 124, 139
IIlc		6+6	Quatrain	aabb	20, 34, 51, 56, 102, 123, 141
IVa	11 syllables	5+6	Couplet	aa	73, 115, 135
IVb		5+6	Quatrain	aabb	19, 22, 25, 32, 37, 45, 49, 58, 63, 91, 111, 113, 125, 134, 143
IVc		5+6	Quatrain	abba	2
IVd		5+6	Quatrain	abab	15, ¹⁹ 61
IVe		5+6	Sextet	aabbcc	95, 140
IVf		5+6	Sextet	ababcc	7
Va	10 syllables	4+6	Quatrain	aabb	100, 127
Vb		4+6	Sextet	aabbcc	76
Vc		5+5	Quatrain	aabb	17, 23, 47, 72
VI	9 syllables	5+4	Quatrain	aabb	86, 101, 130

¹⁹ Although this Psalm is often cited by scholars (Dobrzycki, Giergielewicz, et al.) as an example of Kochanowski imitating the Italian *Terza rima*, in the 1583 edition and all subsequent editions it consists of 16 lines; four stanzas of three lines and one of four lines. Psalm 35 is the only true example of a tercet in *Psalterz Dawidów*.

It should also be noted that the rhyme scheme of Psalm 15 is somewhat unusual, and rather more complicated than is suggested by the table and can be represented as follows: ababcbcdcdedefef. While most lines rhyme with two others, those designated as 'a' and 'f' rhyme with only one other line.

VII	8 syllables		Quatrain	aabb	5, 14, 27, 30, 39, 46, 52, 53, 62, 66, 79, 82, 90, 96, 98, 112, 117, 126, 128, 142, 146, 148
VIIIa	7 syllables		Quatrain	aabb	97
VIIIb			Sextet	aabbcc	43
IX	6 syllables		Quatrain	aabb	64

Of the twenty-four homogeneous stanza types, i.e. consisting of a single line-length with the cæsura after the same syllable, listed above, six (IVc, IVd, IVf, Vb, VI and VIIIb) are found only in *Psalterz Dawidów*, while of the remaining eighteen types, one (IVe) occurs in only one other place, the eighth poem in *Fragmenty*.

However, while his experiments with the position of the cæsura made a greater number of lines available to the poet, Kochanowski's most significant contribution was to increase dramatically the number of possible stanza types. This was achieved by combining lines of different lengths in a single stanza, i.e. by creating heterogeneous stanzas.

The greatest range of these new stanza types is demonstrated in *Psalterz Dawidów*, where Kochanowski uses 16 different stanza types. All these stanzas are heterogeneous in that they combine lines of different length. None of the stanzas combines more than two lines of different length. Stanzas combining the same two lines of different length have been placed in a single group, e.g. I or II. Within each group the stanzas are differentiated according to the order of the lines of different length within the same stanza. All the stanzas have paired rhyme with the exception of VIIb, a tercet which consists of a couplet followed by an unrhyming (blank) line, and IX, a quatrain which has alternate rhyme. The following table contains a complete list of all those Psalms in which Kochanowski has used more than one line-length:

Type	Line Lengths	Cæsura	Stanza Length	Rhyme Scheme	Psalms
Ia	13, 13, 11, 11	7+6, 5+6	Quatrain	aabb	60, 108
Ib	13, 11, 13, 13	7+6, 5+6	Quatrain	aabb	57
Ic	13, 11, 13, 11	7+6, 5+6	Quatrain	aabb	48
IIa	13, 13, 13, 10	7+6, 5+5	Quatrain	aabb	38

Ib	13, 10, 13, 10	7+6, 5+5	Quatrain	aabb	26, 33, 84, 107, 114, 116, 144
Ic	13, 10	7+6, 5+5	Couplet	aa	40, 69, 88
III	13, 8	7+6, —	Couplet	aa	118, 138
IV	13, 7, 13, 13	7+6, —	Quatrain	aabb	110
Va	11, 11, 11, 10	5+6, 5+5	Quatrain	aabb	50
Vb	11, 10, 11, 10, 11, 10, 11, 10	5+6, 5+5	Octet	aabbccdd	92
VI	11, 11, 7, 7	4+7, —	Quatrain	aabb	150
VIIa	11, 11, 11, 5 ²⁰	5+6, —	Quatrain	aabb	8, 16, 28, 42, 65, 75, 85, 93, 133
VIIb	11, 11, 5	5+6, —	Tercet	aab	35
VIII	10, 8, 10, 8	4+6, —	Quatrain	aabb	81
IX	8, 7, 8, 7		Quatrain	abab	9, 129
X	6, 6, 11, 11	—, 5+6	Quatrain	aabb	70, 87

Eleven out of these sixteen stanza types containing lines of different length do not feature in any of Kochanowski's earlier works. They are types Ia, Ib, Ic, IIa, IIb, IIc, III, Va, Vb, VIIb, VIII, while three others are used only here and in *Pieśni*: type IV in Book II, 6, type VI in Book I, 22, and type X in Book I, 3, 5, and 19.²¹

It is this variety of stanza structure and evidence of experimentation in the placement of the caesura, stanza length, and the combination of lines of different length in a single stanza which has led scholars to regard *Psałterz Dawidów* as much as a treatise on poetics as a work of verse in its own right. However, it is not enough merely to record that Kochanowski made innovations in Polish versification: rather, it is desirable to determine, where possible, the sources of his innovations.

In the early part of this section we have seen how the most common types of line in Kochanowski's works (the thirteen-, eleven- and eight-syllable lines) are also present, though in less regulated forms, in earlier Polish verse. However, it is also true that Kochanowski was aware of developments in versification in other vernacular literatures, and that he introduced some of these into his own works. Indeed, it is reasonable to presume that the sextet of seven-syllable lines and the decision to allow

²⁰ This stanza type is an imitation of the Sapphic stanza, whose lines in both its classical Greek and classical Latin forms, unlike Kochanowski's Sapphics, are unrhyming.

²¹ It should be noted that, although some of these stanza types also occur in *Pieśni*, that collection was only published posthumously and, consequently, these stanza types were published for the first time in *Psałterz Dawidów*.

lines of differing lengths to be combined in a single stanza were both influenced by French verse. W. S. Pratt lists a sextet of seven-syllable "non-iambic" lines and several stanzas consisting of lines of different lengths in his description of the lines and stanza-types employed by Clément Marot and Théodore de Bèze in their vernacular French Psalm paraphrases.²²

Furthermore, both S. Dobrzycki and M. Giergielewicz point to the influence of Italian verse in Kochanowski's eleven-syllable lines. They assert that the similarities with Italian verse are not restricted to Psalm 15, but can be recognised also in other Psalm translations with eleven-syllable lines.²³ However, the Italian eleven-syllable line did not contain a *cæsura*, whereas Kochanowski's lines invariably do so.

While it is not possible to determine from where Kochanowski derived many of his stanza types, it is apparent that the 11a 11a 11b 5b type (VIIa) is modelled on the classical Latin Sapphic stanza common in Horace's lyric verse with the superimposition on it of paired rhyme. Similarly, the thirteen-syllable line, which can be written in such a way that it contains six stressed syllables, is sometimes used to produce a very approximate imitation of the quantitative classical Latin hexameter.²⁴ This adaptation of classical lines, together with the tendency to group words in the *clausulæ* of eight-syllable lines and the second hemistichs of ten-syllable lines in such a way that they recall trochees, or in 11-syllable lines so that they recall iambs, has led some scholars to assert that Kochanowski was experimenting with syllabo-tonic prosody.

3.2.3: Was Kochanowski experimenting with syllabo-tonic prosody?

The assertion that there are syllabo-tonic elements in Kochanowski's verse has gained strength since it was first proposed by J. Korzeniowski in his *Kurs poezji* of 1823.²⁵ The contention that

²² W. S. Pratt, *The Music of the French Psalter of 1562. A historical survey and analysis* (New York, 1939), pp. 27-30.

²³ S. Dobrzycki, op. cit., p. 111: "Zwrotka [...] typu 11a 11b 11a 11b 11c 11c w psalmie siódmym jest niewątpliwie wzorowaną na poezji włoskiej [...]"; M. Giergielewicz, "Jan Kochanowski's Versification", p. 364: "Despite triumphant successes, the 11-syllable line was not as widespread in Poland as in Italy, where its usage was universal. Italian versifiers inserted it into different stanzas [...]"

²⁴ For example, a thirteen-syllable line with *cæsura* after the sixth syllable (6+7) may be written: ' - ' - - || ' - ' - - ' - , that is with a three-syllable word in final place (- ' -), and a two-syllable word in every other position. This arrangement of stressed and unstressed syllables recalls the classical Latin hexameter if written in such a way that it contains a dactyl in the fifth foot and a trochee in all other feet (- - | - - | - - || - - | - ' - | - -).

²⁵ L. Pszczółowska, "Czy Kochanowski był sylabotonista?", *Jan Kochanowski 1584-1984 Epoka-Twórczość-Recepcja*, ed. Janusz Pelc, vol. 1 (Lublin, 1989), pp. 457-471 (p.457) says of Korzeniowski: "Korzeniowski w czterdzieści lat później [1863] wraca do tej problematyki we wstępie do tłumaczenia jednej ze sztuk Szekspira; przedstawia wówczas Kochanowskiego wręcz jako swego poprzednika, mówiąc

Kochanowski was attempting to introduce some metrical feet from classical quantitative prosody into Polish verse, gained popularity in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century, and was current as late as the 1970s.²⁶

While the contention that Kochanowski was experimenting with trochaic, iambic,²⁷ dactylic,²⁸ and even amphibrachic²⁹ feet has found some support among scholars, these types of syllabo-tonic foot occur only in those lines which naturally contain trochaic or iambic tendencies. For example, scholars have observed trochaic tendencies only in eight- and ten-syllable lines, while the existence of iambs and dactyls is posited for eleven-syllable lines.

Such restrictions on the usage of syllabo-tonic feet are not surprising, for the Polish language contains paroxytone stress — that is to say, words are stressed on the penultimate syllable, — as a result of which it naturally tends towards a trochaic arrangement of words. Thus, in eight-syllable lines and in those ten-syllable lines which have an even number of syllables after the *cæsura* (4+6) there is a tendency for trochees.³⁰ This natural arrangement is disrupted by the use of monosyllabic or trisyllabic words which, depending on their position in the line, can give the impression of iambs or dactyls. Iambic and dactylic feet are more common in lines of eleven-syllables because of the requirement for an odd number of syllables.

o jambicznym 11-zgłoskowcu: "Tę to formę próbował wprowadzić i u nas Jan Kochanowski". Dodajmy, że w *Kursie poezji* cytuje też Korzeniowski po kilka wersów Kochanowskiego jako przykłady wiersza trocheicznego i nawet daktylicznego."

²⁶ See W. Weintraub, *Rzecz czarnolesska* (Kraków, 1977), pp. 130-133; Maria Dłuska, *Studia z historii i teorii wersyfikacji polskiej*, vol. 2 (Warsaw, 1978).

²⁷ L. Pszczołowska, op. cit., pp. 464-465.

²⁸ W. Weintraub (*Rzecz czarnolesska*, p. 132) cites three examples of dactylic lines in *Psałterz Dawidów*. The first of these is in Psalm 129, lines 4-8, while the other two (Psalm 43, line 19: "Tam *dłótarza* świętego"; Psalm 90, line 34: "Duży, kto trwa *dłósmidziesiąt*") are both the result of elision. He cites only one other example in the whole of Kochanowski's oeuvre: *Fraszki* III, 24. L. Pszczołowska (op. cit., p. 465) states that Tadeusz Sinko ("Przyczynki do "Odprawy" J. Kochanowskiego", *Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń AU*, XXIV, No. 8 (Kraków, 1919), p.5) detected dactylic tendencies in the third chorus of *Odprawapostłów greckich*.

²⁹ L. Pszczołowska, op. cit., pp. 463-465, states that Krystyn Ostrowski (*Dzieła dramatyczne* (Kraków, 1861)) and Maria Dłuska (op. cit., pp. 28-31) both find the presence of amphibrachs in the third chorus of Kochanowski's play *Odprawapostłów greckich* (Kraków, 1578). She herself (p. 464) identifies the presence of amphibrachic feet in the second hemistich of ten-syllable lines with *cæsura* after the fourth syllable (4+6): "Okazuje się także, że w każdym takim zbiorze kilkudziesięciu sekwencji 6-sylabowych postać "trocheiczna" jest częstsza — mniej więcej o połowę lub nieco mniej — niż "amfibrachiczna".

³⁰ L. Pszczołowska finds evidence of trochees in isosyllabic lines of eight syllables in *Psałterz Dawidów* and in *Fraszki* (ibid., p. 459: "Tak więc sylabotonizm naddany czy trocheizację widzi się w kilku psalmach (14, 62, 96, 126) oraz we fraszce *Na swoje księgi*"), and in 10-syllable lines in *Fraszki*, *Pieśni* and *Psałterz Dawidów* (ibid., p. 463: "U Kochanowskiego spotykamy 10-zgłoskowiec 4+6 we *Fraszkach*, w *Pieśniach* i w *Psalmach* [...] Rzeczywiście, w każdym niemal z tych utworów co najmniej połowa wszystkich wersów, a często i więcej — aż do 70%, ma kształt akcentowy odpowiadający wzorcowi trocheja").

Compare, for example, the following "trochaic" eight-syllable lines

Bogu dusza ufa moja.

‘ - ‘ - ‘ - ‘ -

To mój zamek, to ma zbroja: (Psalm 62, lines 1-2)

‘ - ‘ - ‘ - ‘ -

Gdy z okrutnej Babilony

‘ - ‘ - ‘ - ‘ -

Pański lud był wyzwolony,

‘ - ‘ - ‘ - ‘ -

Człowiekowi tak się zdało,

‘ - ‘ - ‘ - ‘ -

Jakoby mu śnić się miało. (Psalm 126, lines 1-4)

‘ - ‘ - ‘ - ‘ -

with the following "iambic" eleven-syllable lines³¹

Anjołom swoim każe cię pilnować

- ‘ - ‘ - || ‘ - ‘ - ‘ -

Gdziekolwiek stąpisz: którzy cię piastować

- ‘ - ‘ - ‘ - || ‘ - ‘ - ‘ -

Na rękę będą, abyś, idąc drogą

- ‘ - ‘ - ‘ - || ‘ - ‘ - ‘ -

Na ostry kamień nie ugodził noga. (Psalm 91, lines 21-24)

- ‘ - ‘ - ‘ - || ‘ - ‘ - ‘ -

and "dactylic" lines:

Grzbiety nam srodze orali

‘ - - ‘ - - ‘ -

Niežnośnymi plagami:

‘ - ‘ - ‘ - ‘ -

I głodem nas mordowali,

- ‘ - ‘ - ‘ - ‘ -

I ciężkimi pracami. (Psalm 129, lines 4-8)

- - ‘ - ‘ - ‘ -

³¹ While Pszczółowska (ibid., p. 465) cites this stanza as evidence of Kochanowski's use of iambs, her contention does not stand up to scrutiny. Rather, the first "foot" in each line appears to be an amphibrach, while the arrangement of words in the remainder of the line recalls trochees.

Nie przez pochlebstwo ani złote dary,

‘ - - - ‘ - - || ‘ - ‘ - ‘ -

Jako te lata zwykły terazniejsze

‘ - - - ‘ - || ‘ - ‘ - ‘ -

Ale przez cnotę na mieśce ważniejsze

‘ - - - ‘ - || - ‘ - - - ‘ -

Godzisz, Wapowski, jako zwyczaj stary. (*Fraszki* III, 24)

‘ - - - ‘ - - || ‘ - ‘ - ‘ -

As can be seen from the lines set out above, Kochanowski's use of non-trochaic metres is limited to individual feet, and the number of such feet varies from line to line. Nowhere, either in the Psalms or in any of his other works, does Kochanowski attempt to use dactyls or iambs on a large scale. Rather, such syllabo-tonic elements are limited to a few examples in individual lines, or occasionally stanzas. The small scale of this usage weakens the case for arguing that Kochanowski was consciously experimenting with syllabo-tonic prosody.

This contention is further weakened by the fact that, if it is accepted that Kochanowski was experimenting with trochees in his eight-syllable lines, then it must also be accepted that other, earlier poets, such as Biernat of Lublin and Mikołaj Rej, who cannot even be said to write truly isosyllabic verse let alone syllabo-tonic verse, may also have been experimenting with the concept of feet. For, according to L. Pszczołowska,

Szczegółowe badanie struktury prozodyjnej staropolskiego 8-zgłoskowca — i to zarówno w utworach zaliczanych do sylabizmu względnego, jak ścisłego, u Biernata czy Reja, a także w bogatym materiale pieśni religijnych XV w. — wykazuje jednak, że postać "trocheiczna" 8-zgłoskowca jest tam również najczęstsza, a jej frekwencja przeważnie równie wysoka jak u Kochanowskiego.³²

We find similar trends in the ten-syllable line with a caesura following the fourth syllable. L. Pszczołowska states that 50-70% of Kochanowski's lines of this type show "trochaic" tendencies, but that these percentages do not differ greatly from those in the works of other poets. Rather, Kochanowski's ten-syllable lines tend to contain fewer trochaic

32 Ibid., p. 460.

elements because these elements do not occur in the first hemistich, while earlier poets allowed trochaic elements in both hemistichs.

The case for arguing that Kochanowski used "iambs" is no stronger for, according to Pszczołowska, iambic elements were a feature of eleven-syllable verse throughout the sixteenth century:

[T]akie krótkie serie wersów dających się podłożyć pod jambiczny wzorzec znajdzie się w każdym czy prawie każdym innym wierszu pisanym 11-zgłoskowcem w XVI w.³³

As has been mentioned above, this tendency in eleven-syllable lines is due to the requirement for an odd number of syllables and the resulting need for poets to introduce monosyllabic or trisyllabic words into lines of this length.

In conclusion then, it seems likely that these supposedly syllabotonic elements in the works of sixteenth-century poets who wrote exclusively in relative syllabic or isosyllabic verse are nothing more than a consequence of the natural tendencies of the language and of the fact that certain combinations of words are more common in some line-lengths. It is also possible that their identification is due in part to wishful thinking, a desire to discover the seeds of syllabotonic prosody — the next stage in the evolution of Polish verse — in the works of one who was regarded as "Poetarum Polonorum Princeps".³⁴

3.2.4: Kochanowski's treatment of the clausula: rhyme and enjambement

Kochanowski's rhyme schemes also reflect the natural tendencies of Polish. Earlier syllabic poets had used not only paroxytone ("feminine") rhymes, but also oxytone ("masculine") rhymes, which are, in Polish, monosyllabic words. In the mediæval period these oxytone rhymes had even been permitted to rhyme with paroxytone words (so-called heterosyllabic rhyming), although this practice had ceased by the sixteenth century. Oxytone rhymes were abolished by Kochanowski, who used paroxytone rhymes exclusively. This he interpreted as encompassing all the sounds from the penultimate vowel to the end of the line, so that

³³ Ibid., p. 465.

³⁴ This styling appears to have been coined by Książnin, for the first occurrence of it of which I am aware is in his edition of Kochanowski's *Treny*, which appeared under the title *Threni Joannis Cochranovii Poetarum Polonorum Principis* in Warsaw in 1781.

pańskiej rhymes with pogańskiej, przebrany with pany, sobie with żalobie, etc.³⁵

This is the least developed aspect of Kochanowski's verse. The verse lines in the overwhelming majority of his works are rhymed in pairs (aa bb, etc.). Indeed, Kochanowski deviates from this pattern only six times in the entire *Psałterz Dawidów*, allowing a quatrain with enclosing rhyme (abba) in Psalm 2, one with alternating rhyme (abab) in Psalms 9, 15, 61 and 129, and one with a quatrain with alternating rhyme followed by a couplet with paired rhyme (ababcc) in Psalm 7.³⁶

During the mediæval period, homoeoteleuton (grammatical rhymes) had been predominant, i.e. the rhyming word had the same grammatical function as the word with which it was rhymed (e.g. pańskiej:pogańskiej). M. Giergielewicz states that this cannot be said of Kochanowski's verse,³⁷ yet W. Lubaś³⁸ maintains that Kochanowski clearly favours grammatical rhymes. Defining grammatical rhyme as

[...] (1) gramatyczny pełny (przestrzeń rymowa wypełniona wyłączenie identycznymi i w identycznej funkcji występującymi końcówkami fleksyjnymi, sufiksami lub sufiksem + końcówka: robiłem:chodziłem, [...] dobremu:ładnemu, stał:miął, spać:stać), (2) półgramatyczny (przestrzeń wypełniona częścią rdzenia i końcówkami fleksyjnymi), np. [...] Jechał:zaniechał, [...] bił:żył, (3) gramatyczny zero końcówkowy (wyrazy z końcówką zerową i pokrywające się przypadki lub też wymienające się przypadki, np. nom. i acc. sg. m., np. chmur:gór, świat:brat [...])³⁹

³⁵ It should be noted that there are five passages in *Psałterz Dawidów* where the rhyme is only approximate. They are Psalm 9, lines 25 and 27: "z nimi", "wiecznemi"; Psalm 45, lines 37-38: "rodziny", "krainy"; Psalm 76, lines 1-2: "krajnie", "słynie"; Psalm 97, lines 9-10: "Palestina", "kraina"; Psalm 96, lines 37-38: "grozy", "trwoży". Such deviations from the rhyme scheme are rare. It will be noted that three of the five instances in *Psałterz Dawidów* involve the diphthong "ai" with a single vowel, either "i" (Psalms 45 and 97) or "y" (Psalm 76).

³⁶ Both Dobrzycki (op. cit., p. 111) and Giergielewicz (*Introduction to Polish Versification*, p. 154) believe that Kochanowski's six-line stanza consisting of a quatrain with alternating rhyme plus a couplet with paired rhyme was modeled on a similar Italian stanza. However, we find a similar rhyme scheme in a number of Psalms translated by Jean-Antoine de Baïf (viz. Jean-Antoine de Baïf, *Le Psautier de 1587*. Texte inédit. Édition critique par Yves le Hir (Paris, 1963)). Baïf employs this rhyme scheme in a number of Psalms written in six-line stanzas of six, eight, or ten syllables.

³⁷ M. Giergielewicz, *ibid.*, pp. 120-121: "In his verses grammatical rhymes were still frequent but reduced in number. The poet seemed to grasp the structural value of rhyming; at least it helped him to produce fine culminating effects [...]"

³⁸ W. Lubaś, *Rym Jana Kochanowskiego: Próba lingwistycznej charakterystyki i oceny* (Katowice, 1975), pp. 23-26.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.

he identifies 56% of the 3013⁴⁰ rhymes in *Psałterz Dawidów* as grammatical and 44% as non-grammatical. Moreover, he demonstrates that the percentage of grammatical rhymes in this work is higher than in, for example, *Dryas* (40%), but lower than in *Zgoda* (68%).

The ratio of grammatical to non-grammatical rhymes does not appear to depend on the period in which a work was written, for 48% of the rhymes in *O śmierci Jana Tarnowskiego* (1561) are grammatical, while the percentage rises to 66% in *Zuzanna* (1562), and *Satyr* (1564) contains the same percentage as *Psałterz Dawidów* (1579). Nor, indeed, does the ratio appear to be affected by the length of the work, for *Psałterz Dawidów*, the longest of Kochanowski's verse works with a total of 3013 rhymes, has a lower ratio (56:44%) than does *Zgoda* which contains only 79 rhymes (68:32%), but the same as *Epitalamium* which contains a total of 68 rhymes. Rather, the data set out by W. Lubaś appear to support M. Giergielewicz's contention that Kochanowski was aware of "the structural value of rhyming", indeed he himself interprets these findings as indicating a "conscious and intentional" treatment of rhyming words:

Dane te mogą popierać twierdzenie, że rozkład ilościowy rymów gramatycznych i niegramatycznych nie był dyktowany napierającą się niejako żywiołowo łatwizną strukturalną tworzywa językowego, lecz był wynikiem świadomej i zamierzonej kompozycji współbrzmień.⁴¹

Further evidence that Kochanowski was conscious of rhyme and language, as well as of line-lengths and stanza types, can be found in his organisation of the linguistic material within a stanza. As we have already seen, M. Giergielewicz describes earlier syllabic verse as being characterised by a co-ordination between syntactic structure and the line and stanza divisions:

⁴⁰ While the percentages cited by Lubaś appear accurate, it should be noted that he gives the total number of rhymes in *Psałterz Dawidów* as 3038 (op. cit., p. 24). It would appear that Lubaś has added the number of verse lines in the dedication to Myszkowski (16) to the total number of lines in *Psałterz Dawidów* (6060) and divided by two, assuming that every line rhymes with one other. This accounts for his assertion that there are 3038 rhymes in *Psałterz Dawidów*.

However, Lubaś is mistaken, for the third line of each stanza in Psalm 35 (the only Psalm to be composed in tercets) does not rhyme, and some lines in Psalm 15 rhyme with two other lines rather than with only one. Moreover, there are five instances in *Psałterz Dawidów* where Kochanowski has unintentionally failed to produce a rhyme (Psalm 9, lines 25 and 27; Psalm 45, lines 37-38; Psalm 76, lines 1-2; Psalm 87, lines 9-10; and Psalm 96, lines 37-38). Thus the total number of rhymes in *Psałterz Dawidów* is 3013, or 3021 if one includes the verse dedication to Myszkowski.

This error does not appear to affect his calculation of the percentages of grammatical and non-grammatical rhyme.

⁴¹ W. Lubaś, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

In most cases the lines coincided with the clauses or their definitely outlined parts, and the cæsura signaled the shift from the anticadenzza to the cadenza. [...] The cumulative effect of the accord between syntax and verse could often be observed in the works of Rej [...] Every line constitutes a complete syntactic unit [...] The cæsura often coincides with some punctuation mark emphasizing the interdependence of verse and syntax.⁴²

While such poetic devices as enjambement (the continuation of a clause or sentence from one verse line into the next without a break) and syntactic shift (the displacement of one part of a line from its logical place in a sentence to another part of the stanza, typically the following line) occur rarely in the works of Mikołaj Rej and other poets of his generation, they are common features of Kochanowski's verse. This is yet another way in which his works can be seen as a further step in the evolution of Polish verse; and once again he is breaking with the trends and constraints of earlier Polish syllabic verse.⁴³ Once again the impetus for this development appears to have come from western Europe. Indeed, W. Weintraub states that Kochanowski adapted enjambement for use in his verse from Italian verse models:

Nie ulega wątpliwości, że Kochanowski wprowadził tok przerzutniowy do sylabizmu polskiego pod wpływem włoskim i wyłącznie włoskim.⁴⁴

It is apparent that the advent of enjambement in Polish verse is connected with the developments in rhyme which occurred there during the sixteenth century. This device could be introduced only following the establishment of the principle of using paroxytone rhyme exclusively in preference to oxytone rhymes, which allowed not only masculine but also dactylic cadenzas. With a regular pattern to mark the end of a line the role of syntax and intonation could be reconsidered.

⁴² M. Giergielewicz, *Introduction to Polish Versification*, pp. 15-16.

⁴³ By breaking the interdependence of verse and syntax, Kochanowski was able to extend his phrasing beyond the end of a line, something which had previously occurred only rarely. This was achieved not only by enjambement, but also deliberately changing the word order of the sentence, e.g. by separating adjectives from their nouns. W. Weintraub, *Styl Jana Kochanowskiego* (Kraków, 1932), p. 52 writes: "Inaczej ma się rzecz z utworami, pisanymi wierszami o innej ilości zgłosek, a wśród nich zwłaszcza z temi, w których przepletają się wiersze różnej długości — tutaj z inwersją spotykamy się wcale często."

⁴⁴ W. Weintraub, "O przerzutniach Kochanowskiego i ich włoskim wzorcu", *Rzecz czarnońska* (Kraków 1977), pp. 332-345 (p. 335).

This was certainly a gradual process, and a definite evolution can be seen in the treatment of enjambement in Kochanowski's own work. In his early works it is either entirely absent, as in "Czego chcesz od nas panie za two hojne dary?", or else extremely rare, as in *Szachy* where in 602 lines there are only ten examples of enjambement. The absence of a precise date of composition for *Szachy* (c. 1562-1566) means that it is difficult to establish at what point Kochanowski began to experiment with enjambement, but this device is incorporated for the first time on a large scale in *Satyra* (c. 1564), which might suggest that *Szachy* predated this work. However, the total absence of enjambement in *Sobótka*, a work of 436 lines written in the 1570s, means that the presence and quantity of enjambement in a given work cannot be used to date it.

There are numerous examples of enjambement in *Psałterz Dawidów*: indeed Kochanowski makes use of it 947 times in 6060 lines.⁴⁵ However, its use is not universal. There are seven Psalms (1, 12, 41, 117, 121, 136, 149) in which there is not a single example of enjambement, and twenty others in which it occurs only once (3, 11, 15, 24, 29, 54, 56, 62, 63, 67, 80, 88, 99, 100, 113, 120, 122, 124, 134, 147).

Enjambement also occurs in consecutive lines in *Psałterz Dawidów*. While, for the most part, these consecutive enjambements occur within a single stanza (e.g. Psalm 10, lines 10-11-12 and 33-34-35, where a hyphen indicates enjambement), Kochanowski also allows enjambement to take place across the stanza division when the stanzas are couplets.⁴⁶ The most striking example of this is Psalm 68 where there are five examples of two consecutive enjambements (lines 2-3-4, 13-14-15, 16-17-18, 32-33-34, 35-36-37), one example of three (lines 41-42-43-44), and one example of five consecutive enjambements (lines 73-74-75-76-77-78).

⁴⁵ Despite the presence of a large number of examples of enjambement in *Psałterz Dawidów*, nonetheless the number of instances of enjambement expressed as a percentage of the whole work (947 in 6060 lines) is 15.6%. The percentage for *Szachy* is 16.6% (10 in 602 lines), which suggests that, as in the distribution of grammatical rhyme, so too in terms of enjambement *Psałterz Dawidów* is representative of Kochanowski's work.

⁴⁶ Enjambement across stanza divisions is rare in longer stanza types: indeed it occurs only once in *Psałterz Dawidów*, in Psalm 81, lines 40-41). While Kochanowski extended his phrasing beyond the confines of individual lines, he observed the principle that stanzas were distinct units, and the end of his phrases coincides with the end of the stanza except for those works written in couplets, as already mentioned, and five other instances (Psalm 97, lines 7-9; Psalm 107, lines 4-5; Psalm 123, lines 8-9; Psalm 124, lines 5-6; and Psalm 126, lines 16-17) where the sentence continues across a stanza division. That this is a feature of Kochanowski's lyric verse as a whole, rather than simply of *Psałterz Dawidów*, is demonstrated by W. Weintraub, *Styl Jana Kochanowskiego*, p. 42: "Poeta przestrzega naogół staranniejszej zgodności końca okresu z końcem strofy, niż zgodności końca zdania z końcem wiersza. Enjambement jest u niego, zwłaszcza w liryce, zjawiskiem dosyć częstym, nawet w tych wierszach, w których pilnie stara się, aby koniec okresu przypadł na koniec strofy".

The following table shows the instances of enjambement in *Psalterz Dawidów*, noting those occasions in which Kochanowski uses it in consecutive lines:

Psalm	Instances of enjambement	Number of lines	Lines with consecutive enjambement
Preface	6	16	
I	0	20	
II	8	36	
III	1	20	
IV	2	28	
V	6	52	
VI	2	20	
VII	8	42	
VIII	10	32	
IX	26	84	lines 6-7-8
X	12	48	lines 10-11-12 and 33-34-35
XI	1	12	
XII	0	16	
XIII	5	16	lines 1-2-3
XIV	6	28	
XV	1	16	
XVI	10	36	lines 5-6-7-8
XVII	9	56	lines 21-22-23 and 41-42-43-44
XVIII	11	100	
XIX	8	52	
XX	3	28	
XXI	5	28	lines 1-2-3-4
XXII	8	84	lines 10-11-12
XXIII	2	20	
XXIV	1	20	
XXV	7	52	lines 14-15-16, 22-23-24 and 26-27-28
XXVI	6	28	lines 1-2-3-4 and 13-14-15
XXVII	10	52	
XXVIII	8	32	lines 2-3-4
XXIX	1	20	
XXX	5	40	
XXXI	7	56	
XXXII	5	36	
XXXIII	4	44	
XXXIV	2	48	
XXXV	30	90	lines 13-14-15, 16-17-18, 28-29-30, 37-38-39, 49-50-51, 52-53-54 and 79-80-8
XXXVI	2	28	
XXXVII	17	96	lines 5-6-7, 58-59-60
XXXVIII	4	44	
XXXIX	10	56	lines 42-43-44 and 54-55-56
XL	2	52	
XLI	0	36	

XLII	18	44	lines 17-18-19, 29-30-31-32, 33-34-35-36 and 41-42-43)
XLIII	4	30	
XLIV	6	52	
XLV	16	60	lines 18-19-20 and 53-54-55-56
XLVI	6	44	
XLVII	2	20	
XLVIII	2	36	
XLIX	6	56	
L	8	68	lines 5-6-7 and 18-19-20
LI	4	40	lines 6-7-8
LII	8	32	
LIII	5	28	
LIV	1	16	
LV	5	48	
LVI	1	32	
LVII	7	32	lines 14-15-16 and 30-31-32
LVIII	3	28	
LIX	4	36	lines 22-23-24
LX	2	28	
LXI	4	20	
LXII	1	36	
LXIII	1	28	
LXIV	14	48	lines 2-3-4, and 34-35-36)
LXV	20	48	lines 5-6-7-8, 21-22-23-24, 25-26-27-28 and 46-47-48
LXVI	14	68	lines 45-46-47-48
LXVII	1	12	
LXVIII	29	88	lines 2-3-4, 13-14-15, 16-17-18, 32-33-34, 35-36-37, 41-42-43-44 and 73-74-75-76-77-78
LXIX	8	82	
LXX	3	16	lines 10-11-12
LXXI	6	52	
LXXII	12	60	lines 33-34-35
LXXIII	3	62	
LXXIV	11	48	lines 5-6-7
LXXV	8	32	lines 30-31-32
LXXVI	3	24	
LXXVII	4	44	
LXXVIII	23	132	lines 9-10-11, 44-45-46, 79-80-81, 96-97-98 and 101-102-103
LXXIX	14	56	lines 5-6-7 and 30-31-32
LXXX	1	40	
LXXXI	9	48	lines 39-40-41. N.B. The enjambement between lines 40 and 41 occurs across a stanza break.
LXXXII	5	28	
LXXXIII	6	34	lines 14-15-16
LXXXIV	5	28	
LXXXV	9	32	
LXXXVI	10	60	lines 42-43-44
LXXXVII	7	24	lines 17-18-19 and 22-23-24
LXXXVIII	1	36	
LXXXIX	15	98	lines 66-67-68 and 90-91-92

XC	11	60	lines 2-3-4
XCI	6	36	lines 14-15-16 and 21-22-23
XCII	3	32	lines 25-26-27
XCIII	7	16	lines 5-6-7 and 13-14-15
XCIV	3	44	
XCV	6	30	lines 19-20-21 and 22-23-24
XCVI	5	52	
XCVII	17	56	lines 13-14-15-16, 21-22-23-24 and 45-46-47
XCVIII	6	32	lines 25-26-27
XCIX	1	20	
C	1	12	
CI	2	28	lines 22-23-24
CII	7	64	lines 25-26-27
CIII	5	44	
CIV	11	70	lines 27-28-29
CV	17	86	lines 15-16-17-18 and 30-31-32
CVI	22	102	lines 13-14-15, 18-19-20-21, 37-38-39-40 and 77-78-79-80
CVII	12	88	
CVIII	3	28	
CIX	5	72	lines 2-3-4
CX	4	20	lines 14-15-16
CXI	4	24	lines 6-7-8, 10-11-12
CXII	9	36	
CXIII	1	16	
CXIV	4	16	
CXV	2	36	
CXVI	6	44	
CXVII	0	8	
CXVIII	15	62	
CXIX	7	176	
CXX	1	12	
CXXI	0	20	
CXXII	1	16	
CXXIII	4	16	lines 9-10-11
CXXIV	1	16	
CXXV	6	16	lines 2-3-4 and 5-6-7
CXXVI	5	24	lines 9-10-11
CXXVII	3	20	
CXXVIII	3	24	
CXXIX	9	28	
CXXX	8	24	lines 5-6-7
CXXXI	2	12	
CXXXII	3	34	
CXXXIII	8	16	lines 9-10-11-12
CXXXIV	1	8	
CXXXV	8	40	
CXXXVI	0	52	
CXXXVII	2	20	
CXXXVIII	6	26	lines 6-7-8 and 24-25-26
CXXXIX	7	56	lines 38-39-40
CXL	4	30	lines 16-17-18
CXLI	4	28	
CXLII	2	28	

CXLIII	6	40	lines 6-7-8, 25-26-27
CXLIV	10	40	lines 2-3-4, 18-19-20 and 26-27-28
CXLV	6	40	lines 38-39-40
CXLVI	7	36	
CXLVII	1	40	
CXLVIII	5	40	lines 2-3-4
CXLIX	0	18	
CL	2	12	

Kochanowski's differing attitude towards enjambement in his works cannot easily be explained, although the evidence leaves no doubt that he used it consciously. While it is true that he intended *Sobótka* and some cantos to be sung rather than read, this does not fully explain the absence, total or relative, of enjambement in these works, for there are numerous examples of enjambement in *Psałterz Dawidów*, which was also set to music. Rather, it appears that Kochanowski was aware of the potential of enjambement to convey a different emotion, one that sets it apart from the surrounding narrative, and that its use after 1564 was dependent upon this consideration. If this is indeed the case, it would go some way to explaining its absence in *Sobótka*, and its proliferation in *Treny*, a deeply personal work written in response to the death of Kochanowski's daughter Orszula, and in *Psałterz Dawidów*, the individual Psalms in which express a range of emotions from repentance to thanksgiving and joy.

However, enjambement is not the only means of creating different effects in verse. They can also be produced by separating nouns from their adjectives across a cæsura, by inversion, or by actual syntactic displacement. These devices disrupt the natural flow of the narrative, and Kochanowski uses them in his poetry to great effect.

There can be no doubt that Kochanowski's verse represents a significant step forward in the development of Polish vernacular poetry, a step in which earlier trends in Polish verse reached their logical conclusion and innovations adapted from French and Italian prosody were introduced. In his works we find a number of new line and stanza types, the total avoidance of oxytonic words in rhyming position, and a conscious use of cæsura, enjambement, and syntactic displacement for effect. This experimentation and innovation reached its conclusion in *Psałterz Dawidów*, which he himself saw as the first fruits of his labours. Scholars have viewed it as his poetic legacy, tantamount to a treatise on poetics in which he demonstrated the rich variety of which Polish syllabic verse was capable.

3.3: *Psałterz Dawidów* in the context of Kochanowski's *oeuvre*

The statistical analysis of grammatical rhyme and enjambement in the previous section demonstrated that, in these respects at least, *Psałterz Dawidów* is representative of Kochanowski's total *oeuvre*. In both cases the frequency of these features of versification approaches the mean. However, *Psałterz Dawidów* also differs from Kochanowski's other works in some respects.

At the level of formal composition it differs in the number of line and stanza types present; no other single work by Kochanowski reveals such variety. Not only that, but several of the line and stanza types are used only in *Psałterz Dawidów*; the symmetrical 12-syllable line (6+6) does not occur elsewhere, nor do types Ia, Ib, Ic, IIa, IIb, IIc, III, Va, Vb, VIIb, VIII.

Moreover, this work stands apart from Kochanowski's other works because of its subject-matter. *Psałterz Dawidów* is, of course, a religious work, and there are few examples of similar poems in Kochanowski's *oeuvre*. While there are a few poems with a religious theme in *Fraszki*, and occasional ones which broach religion, e.g. *Satyr* and *Zgoda*, these works are less concerned with the expression of religious sentiment than with the question of religion *per se*.

It is true that there are examples of religious poems among Kochanowski's *oeuvre*, but these are restricted to his vernacular poetry, a feature which characterises Polish religious poetry of the period.⁴⁷ Moreover, Kochanowski's religious works are largely confined to the early part of his literary output. The hymn "Czego chcesz od nas Panie za twe hojne dary?" and *Zuzanna* were published in 1562, while "Pieśń o potopie" appeared in print in or around 1570. The religious poems in *Fragmenty* (numbers 24, 26, 27, 28 and 55) were probably composed at an early date, although they were only published posthumously. Even

47 Religious poetry composed in Latin was largely ignored by the more notable Polish poets who turned their attention in the second half of the century to developing a national literature. This is confirmed by K. Stawecka, *Religijna poezja łacińska XVI wieku w Polsce: zagadnienia wybrane* (Lublin, 1964), p. 131: "Wartość literacka religijnej poezji polsko-łacińskiej w drugiej połowie wieku XVI jest niewielka (pewien wyjątek — poezje Trzecieckiego) [...]".

Moreover, Latin religious poetry in Poland, as in Europe, is marked by a strange mixture of Judæo-Christian and Classical references. K. Stawecka (op. cit., pp. 56 ff.) cites instances where Polish neo-Latin poets have referred to God not only as "Deus" but also as "Iuppiter" — an appellation also used of Christ, — as well as "Tonans" and as being the father of gods and men. We find a similar admixture in the Psalm translations of George Buchanan, Eobanus Hessus and others who, having conceived their Psalm paraphrases as Latin poems in their own right, felt justified in inserting into them references to Jupiter and Mount Olympus.

those works which tackle religious questions appeared early in Kochanowski's career; *Zgoda* and *Satyr* were both published in 1564.

Thus there appears to be a total break with religious poetry in the mid-1560s, which ends only when Kochanowski begins to work on the Psalms as a whole.⁴⁸ However, there is some evidence to suggest that Kochanowski originally approached the Psalms as literary rather than religious texts:

Ale prawdopodobną jest rzeczą, że nie uczucie religijne poety wywołało przekład psalmów, ale "literatura", kierunek literacki: przekłady i parafrazy "Psałterza" należą w literaturze renesansu do faktów nadzwyczajnie częstych, a to samo było i w Polsce. [...] Jednakże w ciągu pracy nad przekładem rzecz się zmienia. [...] [O]bjawił się wzmożeniem się uczucia religijnego, [...] ⁴⁹

This appears to confirm the contention in 3.1 that Kochanowski began work on individual Psalms at an early date, possibly as a literary exercise,⁵⁰ but that at a later date he was prompted by his patron, Bishop Piotr Myszkowski, to expand his conception of the work so as to include all the Psalms.

There are a number of similarities between *Psałterz Dawidów* and Kochanowski's other religious works,⁵¹ although the contrasts between these works cannot be overlooked. There are frequent references in "Czego chcesz...", *Fenomeny* and *Fragmety* to the majesty of God being discernible through the beauty and order of nature, and to the fact that the seasons and elements are subject to His will. This idea of the existence of God being proven by natural phenomena is also central to *Psałterz Dawidów* and, although Kochanowski has given them greater prominence in his rendering, such references are present in the Hebrew text.

⁴⁸ There is a tendency among critics, most notably Dobrzycki, to connect *Psałterz Dawidów* with Kochanowski's later work, *Treny*, and to speak of a renewal of faith towards the end of his life. Such a renewal may indeed have occurred. However, *Treny* is a very personal work written in response to the death of Kochanowski's favourite daughter, Orszula, and its grief and religious sentiments can be attributed to his bereavement: his translation of the Psalms, on the other hand, has no autobiographical dimensions.

⁴⁹ S. Dobrzycki, "Psałterz Kochanowskiego w stosunku do innych jego pism", *Pamiętnik literacki* (1905), pp. 499-509 (p. 504).

⁵⁰ The Psalms were ideally suited for this purpose; not only would the text of the Psalms have been well-known to him, but they contain a range of emotions and styles which would have allowed him to experiment with different approaches to composition, and to learn to adapt the style of his verses to fit the content of the passage.

⁵¹ Indeed, writing about "Czego chcesz od nas panie za twoje hojne dary?", D. Welsh says: "The poem's tone is biblical, and indeed foreshadows Kochanowski's work in the 1570s on the Psalms." (D. Welsh, *Jan Kochanowski* (New York, 1974), p. 46) This is, perhaps, an overstatement. While there are similarities between the two works, the differences in between them make any attempt to connect these works futile.

While it is interesting to note similarities between *Psalterz Dawidów* and some of Kochanowski's earlier poems, it must be remembered that this work is a translation rather than an original work of lyric verse. Therefore, it is also necessary to look for similarities and differences in his manner of translation, and his treatment of the original text between these works and *Psalterz Dawidów*.

That Kochanowski treated the Psalms differently from his other, purely literary, translations⁵² can be seen in the way in which he steers a middle course between adhering to the original text and allowing himself to adapt it to the requirements of lyric verse. In common with Kochanowski's other translated works, *Psalterz Dawidów* contains a number of additions and subtractions from the original text. However, while this tendency to expand the text is given free rein in some of his other works, in *Psalterz Dawidów* it is restricted to the addition of adjectives or the expansion of images — both of these features being desirable in a work of lyric verse. This clearly differs from his treatment of the original text in his play *Odprawa posłów greckich* (1578), a work of 585 lines, which was based on a thirty-one line passage in Book III of Homer's *Iliad* (lines 183-214).⁵³ This tendency is also present in Kochanowski's translation of another Biblical text, *Zuzanna* (1562), which contains a number of additions to, and omissions from, the Biblical text⁵⁴

Thus, while *Psalterz Dawidów* is representative of Kochanowski's *œuvre* from a technical point of view (line lengths, rhyme patterns, etc.), it is apparent that the poet has adopted a different approach to the text from that in his other translations, although it does contain a number of elements present in his other works of lyric verse, both original and translated.

52 H. Sobczakówna, "Jan Kochanowski jako tłumacz", *Prace polonistyczne studentów uniwersytetu poznańskiego* 6 (1934), pp. 1-41 (p. 9): "Do grupy utworów epickich zaliczam polski i łaciński przekład poematu Aratosa, "Szachy" i "Monomachję Parysową z Menelausem". Do dziedziny dramatu należy tylko drobny fragment z "Alcestis" Eurypidesa." Najliczniejsze i naogół najlepsze są przekłady liryków; należą tu niektóre "Fraszki", "Foricœnia", "Psalterz", "Epithalamium" z Catulla i "Dryas Zamechska". Jedynym przekładem prozaicznym jest "Wzór pań mężnych" z Plutarcha.

53 On the origins of this play see: C. Kraszewski, *The Dismissal of the Grecian Envoys* (Players Press, 1994), pp. 25-26.

54 D. Welsh, *Jan Kochanowski* (New York, 1974), pp. 44-45.

Chapter 4. *Psałterz Dawidów* in the context of the European tradition of Biblical translation

4.1: Translation and polemic: biblical translation in Poland in the sixteenth century

Poland did not have an established tradition of Psalm translations in the way that western Europe did. Despite the existence of a vernacular translation of the Bible in the Mediæval period,¹ the Renaissance and Reformation periods in Poland were not accompanied by the same interest in retranslating the Psalms, or by the same proliferation of verse translations, as we witness in the rest of northern Europe. J. Gaertner details forty-nine neo-Latin verse translations of some or all of the Psalms published in western Europe between 1529 and 1579,² not to mention the neo-Latin prose translations and the vernacular translations (prose and verse) which were produced in the same period. Poland, in contrast, boasts just four translations of the Psalms³ from the same period: those by Mikołaj Rej (1532),⁴ Walenty Wróbel (1539),⁵ Jakub Lubelczyk (1558)⁶ and Jan Kochanowski (1579), of which only those by Lubelczyk and

¹ D. Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology in the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation: Chapters in the History of the Controversies (1551-1632)*, University of California Publications in Modern Philology vol. 123 (Berkeley, 1989), p. 1: "Though a Polish Bible circulated in manuscript form during the Middle Ages, it did so without challenging the traditional hegemony of the Latin version."

This Polish translation of the Bible is also mentioned by R. Auty, "The Bible in East-Central Europe", *The Cambridge History of the Bible. Vol. 3, The West from the Reformation to the Present Day*, ed. S.L. Greenslade (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 129-135 (p. 133): "The only complete Polish translation of the Bible to be made before the Reformation was a slavish imitation of the Czech version; [footnote: Known as the Bible of Queen Sophia or Sárospatak Bible (1455)] but here too the advent of Protestantism stimulated biblical scholarship."

² J. Gaertner, "Latin Verse Translations of the Psalms 1500-1620"; *Harvard Theological Review*, LXIX (1956), pp. 271-305 (pp. 293-299). Of these, only fifteen editions contain all 150 Psalms, six contain a translation of only the seven Penitential Psalms, while the remaining twenty-eight editions are a translation of selected Psalms. These selections range in length from the translations by Ganeius (Paris, 1547) and Belvatus (Douai, 1565), which contain seventy five and fifty Psalms respectively, to those by Richius (Marburg, 1540), Stigelius (place of publication unknown, 1543), Crocus (Amsterdam, 1544) and Engerdus (Ingolstadt, 1579), whose works contain a translation of a single Psalm (Psalms 31, 90, 45, and 90 respectively)

³ In addition, there were three translations of the entire Bible (1561, 1563, 1572) and two of the New Testament (1556, 1574).

⁴ Mikołaj Rej, *Psałterz Dawidów, który jest prawy fundament wszystkiego pisma krześcijańskiego, teraz nowo prawie na polski język przełożon, acz nie jednakość słów, co być nie może, ale iż wzięły położenie rzeczy w każdym wierszu według łacińskiego języka się zamyka* (Kraków, 1532).

⁵ *Zołtarz Dawidow, przez Mistrza Valantheo Wrobla z Poznania na rzecz polską wyłożony* (Kraków, 1539). This work was reprinted in 1567.

D. Frick, op. cit., p. 59, refers to this translation being reprinted in 1567, while K. Estreicher, op. cit., vol. XV, pp. 68-70, cites two editions from 1539, two from 1540, two from 1547, and one each from 1543, 1551 and 1567.

⁶ Jakub Lubelczyk, *Psałterz Dawida onego świętego, a wieczney pamięci godnego Krola y Proroka teraz nowo na piosneczki po polsku przełożony, a według żydowskiego rozdziału na pięćdziesiąt ksiąg rozdzielony* (Kraków, 1558).

Kochanowski are in verse,⁷ while Rej's version is a paraphrastic, i.e. free, translation of Johannes Campensis' neo-Latin prose paraphrase of the Psalms,⁸ and Wróbel's translation is a vernacular rendering of the Vulgate text.

That is not to say that the Reformation and Counter-Reformation in Poland did not generate an interest in biblical scholarship. Indeed, there was a lively debate on the authority of the Scriptures, and on the question of whether, and how, Holy Writ should be translated into the vernacular. This debate was conducted in polemical tracts⁹ as well as in the prefaces to the various Protestant and Catholic translations of the New Testament and the Bible, and only ended following the publication of a standard Polish Bible translated by the Catholic Jakub Wujek in 1599 and that of the Protestant Gdańsk Bible in 1632.

Three prose translations of the Bible appeared in the period pre-1579, the year in which Kochanowski's *Psałterz Dawidów* was published. The Catholic Jan Leopolita's translation was the first to appear; published in Kraków in 1561, it was subsequently revised with new editions appearing in 1575 and 1577. Unlike other translators of the Scriptures in Poland, Jan Leopolita adhered to the Catholic Church's ruling, handed down at the Council of Trent, that the Vulgate version of the Bible was the only authoritative translation, and based his vernacular translation exclusively on this text — which other translators rejected as flawed, — a decision which he felt bound to defend at length in his preface to the 1561 edition. His argument for regarding the Vulgate text as the only authority for the Scriptures contains little that is original. Rather,

He justifies the fact that he did not consult the Hebrew text by enlisting two commonplaces from Catholic arguments against the "original languages": no two Bibles translated according to the Hebrew have ever agreed [...]; the Jews have falsified their Bible so that it can no longer be considered an authority. Leopolita's argument in favour of the Vulgate continues in the same vein:

⁷ In addition, there are a number of verse translations of individual Psalms, some anonymous and found only in hymn-books, others published separately. S. Dobrzycki (op. cit., pp. 32-25) lists a number of different translations, of which two are by Andrzej Trzeciecki (Psalms 1, 15), two by Lubelczyk (37, 79), and nine by Rej (Psalm 86, 114, and the seven penitential Psalms: 6, 32, 38, 51, 102, 130, 143). Of the anonymous Psalms, nine are found in the hymn-books of Seklucjan (Psalms 14, 32, 46, 51, 103, 128, 130) or Groicki (Psalms 31, 124).

⁸ *Psalmorum omnium iuxta hebraicam veritatem paraphrastica interpretatio, autore Ioanne Campensi* (Antwerp, 1532). This work was published in Kraków in the same year.

⁹ On the religious polemic in Poland see M. Czapska, *Polemika religijna pierwszego okresu reformacji w Polsce* (Kraków, 1928), D. Frick, op. cit., and J. Krzyżanowski, *Historia literatury polskiej* (Warsaw, 1966), pp. 140-161.

Jerome (and Leopolda asserts that the Vulgate then in use was entirely the work of Jerome) lived at a time when the Jews had not yet falsified their Bible; he knew Hebrew perfectly; the entire Church accepts his translation.¹⁰

This was followed by a Calvinist translation of the Bible in which S. Zaciusz, P. Statoriusz, G. Orsaciusz, A. Trzycieski, J. Lubelczyk and others collaborated.¹¹ Begun in or around 1559 and published in Brest-Litowsk in 1563, this version was used by both Calvinists and Lutherans.

Both of these translations were criticised by Szymon Budny in the preface to his Protestant translation of 1572,¹² in which he drew the reader's attention to mistakes which he claimed had been made in the two earlier translations.

While the translators of the Calvinist Bible made some use of the Vulgate, they also consulted other Latin translations, as well as the Greek and Hebrew texts. Moreover, D. Frick asserts that they used the 1546 edition of Pierre Robert Olivétan's translation of the Bible.¹³ This translation departs from previous Biblical scholarship not in the addition of words to aid the sense in places, for this can also be seen in western European translations of the Psalms, but in failing to indicate where these alterations to the original text were made. This attempt to render the Scriptures into elegant Polish set this translation apart from other versions and caused it to be criticised by both the Catholics and some Protestants even before its publication.

It should be noted that Jakub Lubelczyk's *Psałterz Dawida* (1558) contains two prefaces, the first of which commends his paraphrases to Lukasz z Gorki, while the second contains a commentary on the state of the Church and an explanation of his reasons for undertaking the translation. This second preface also contains an indication that these verse renderings were intended to be sung:

¹⁰ D. Frick, op. cit., pp. 63-64.

¹¹ These are the names connected with this translation in the British Library catalogue. D. Frick, *ibid.*, p. 68, mentions others — not only Poles — who collaborated on this project: "In addition to Orszak, Lismanino, Statorius and Thénaud, several other figures are presumed to have taken part in the work at its various stages: Marcin Krowicki, Grzegorz Paweł z Brzezina, Szymon Żak, Jakub Lubelczyk, and Andrzej Trzycieski".

¹² D. Frick, *ibid.*, pp. 83-85, claims that Budny's version is a correction of the Calvinist Bible, and that in correcting the mistakes made by the translators of that Bible he and his collaborator, Maciej Kawieczński, consulted not only the Greek and Hebrew versions but also the Church Slavonic Bible and a German translation presumed to be that of Martin Luther.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

A jeśli by się też ty moje noty przy tych Psalmiech nie podobały, już tak niech będzie, a wszak tobie co się ich nie będziesz mógł nauczyć nic nie zawadza. Możesz ty sobie po staremu jako w kościele na który ton chcesz śpiewać.¹⁴

However, it lacks any discussion of the authority of Scripture, or reference to the texts on which this translation was based.

Kochanowski does not preface *Psałterz Dawidów* with a discussion of his translation methods¹⁵ nor does he mention which texts he consulted to aid his translation.¹⁶ In this respect his rendering of the Psalms should be considered apart from the vernacular translations of the Scriptures being published in Poland¹⁷ as part of the religious debate sparked by the Reformation.

Thus it is apparent that Kochanowski's *Psałterz Dawidów*, while belonging to an embryonic Polish tradition, should be viewed in the context of the more established western European tradition of metrical Psalm paraphrases.

4.1.1: Kochanowski's *Psałterz Dawidów* and Lubelczyk's *Psałterz Dawida*.

As only the second Polish vernacular verse rendering of all the Psalms, Jan Kochanowski's *Psałterz Dawidów* has inevitably been compared to Jakub Lubelczyk's *Psałterz Dawida* of 1558.¹⁸ However, though separated by only twenty years, these works reveal significant changes in Polish versification and linguistic trends.

It should, of course, be pointed out that the translators of these two works approached the Biblical text with very different intentions. Lubelczyk took up the task at the same time as he was collaborating on the

¹⁴ Jakub Lubelczyk, *Psałterz Dawida* (Kraków, 1558), f. A7.

¹⁵ I can find no evidence to support D. Frick's allusion to a preface of this kind. D. Frick, op. cit., footnote 82, p. 161: "Jan Kochanowski refers briefly to the constraints placed upon him as poet and philologist in his verse rendition published in Cracow in 1583."

¹⁶ It is, however, possible to infer from the text which translations and commentaries Kochanowski used. These sources will be discussed in chapter 5.

¹⁷ The same can also be said of Lubelczyk's translation, for the absence of any discussion of the authority of Scripture or statement concerning the texts on which he based his rendering sets the prefaces to *Psałterz Dawida* apart from the polemical tracts which prefaced the prose translations of the Scriptures discussed above.

¹⁸ I do not propose to examine Lubelczyk's rendering thoroughly, restricting myself instead to the more obvious similarities or differences between his rendering and that of Kochanowski. For a detailed analysis of Lubelczyk's translation see Katarzyna Meller, *Jakuba Lubelczyka Psałterz Dawida z roku 1558* (Poznań, 1992).

Calvinist Bible translation,¹⁹ and his rendering reveals the same tendency as that witnessed in the Bible; he was not opposed to adding material to elucidate obscure passages and was concerned not to omit anything:

[...] Lubelczyk wołał raczej tekst oryginału rozszerzyć, niż cokolwiek z niego utraci. [...] Lubelczyk był zbyt ostrożny — wołał zawsze przyjąć wers dłuższy niż krótszy, a to musiało doprowadzać tu i tam do "watowania" dziur.²⁰

Jan Kochanowski, on the other hand, was concerned with producing an elegant work of lyric verse and was forced to try to reconcile the contradictory demands placed upon him by this preoccupation: should he remain faithful to the text — and the original is frequently clumsy or repetitive, — or should he indulge his desire to create a translation to rival that of Buchanan and the other neo-Latin translators? While Kochanowski does add a word or phrase in places to make the meaning of the original clear, he is not opposed to omitting material where this was desirable from a literary point of view. As a result, compared to Kochanowski's rendering, Lubelczyk's appears wordy. Indeed, a random sample of ten Psalms chosen by Stanisław Urbańczyk revealed that Lubelczyk's paraphrase was over one third longer than Kochanowski's.²¹ However, that does not explain the differences between the two works in terms of lexis and versification.

While Lubelczyk's poetry shows a number of features typical of later syllabic verse, it also reveals tendencies inherited from the Mediæval tradition. In particular, he continues to use the longer line lengths — those containing fifteen or sixteen syllables — rejected by Kochanowski and later poets, while his use of exclusively paroxytone (feminine) endings and varied rhyme patterns reveals that Lubelczyk has included in his versification elements which are not present in the works of such poets as his friend and co-religionist Mikołaj Rej. However, his use of rhyme is more conservative than that of Kochanowski, who allows a greater variety of rhyme patterns by admitting alternating and enclosing rhyme, neither of which is found in Lubelczyk's translation:

¹⁹ D. Frick, op. cit., p. 68: "It is likely that work on the Bible began around this time [1558-1559] or slightly earlier; the anonymous preface to the reader written in the name of the translators urges any would-be critic or corrector of the edition not to 'begrudge up to six years of his labour and diligence', presumably the length of time spent on the translation."

²⁰ Stanisław Urbańczyk, "Psałterz w przekładzie Jakuba Lubelczyka i Jana Kochanowskiego", *Jan Kochanowski 1584-1984 Epoka-Twórczość-Recepcja*, ed. Janusz Pelc, vol. 1 (Lublin, 1989), pp. 497-506 (p. 498).

²¹ Ibid., pp. 497-498: "Można to ukazać w liczbach: w 10 dowolnie wybranych psalmach Lubelczyk użył 4968 sylab, Kochanowski zaś 3069".

U Lubelczyka przeważają więc zwrotki w układzie aa, aabb, aabbb, aabbcc, aabbccc; w całym jego przekładzie Dobrzycki doliczył się aż 29 rodzajów zwrotek.²²

Despite Dobrzycki's assertion that Lubelczyk used only 29 different stanza types, Katarzyna Meller lists 36,²³ including one (designated type VIII in the table below) in which a six-syllable line is combined with three eleven-syllable lines as a "koda rymowana", i.e. the last six-syllable line rhymes with the immediately preceding eleven-syllable line. This stanza structure bears a similarity to the classical Sapphic stanza, although the final line contains six syllables instead of five. The following table shows the stanza types employed by Lubelczyk in *Psalterz Dawida*:

Type	Stanza Type	Cæsura	Stanza Length	Rhyme Scheme	Psalms
I	13-syllables	7+6	Couplet	aa	85, 150
II	15-syllables	8+7	Couplet	aa	90
III	12-syllables	6+6	Tercet	aaa	47
IV	13-syllables	7+6	Tercet	aaa	15, 86, 91, 130
V	14-syllables	8+6	Tercet	aaa	25, 123
VI	15-syllables	8+7	Tercet	aaa	70
VII	10-syllables	6+4	Quatrain	aabb	117
VIII	11, 11, 11, 6	5+6, —	Quatrain	aaaa	140
IX	12-syllables	6+6	Quatrain	aabb	23, 29, 54, 82, 112, 113, 142
X	13-syllables	7+6	Quatrain	aabb	3, 8, 13, 24, 48, 58, 59, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 72, 84, 87, 92, 124, 127, 144, 145
XI	14-syllables	8+6	Quatrain	aabb	1, 16, 27, 46, 52, 108, 116, 120, 129, 134, 148
XII	14-syllables	7+7	Quatrain	aabb	43
XIII	15-syllables	8+7	Quatrain	aabb	75, 76, 77, 137
XIV	15-syllables	7+8	Quatrain	aabb	81
XV	16-syllables	8+8	Quatrain	aabb	132
XVI	16-syllables	8+8	Quatrain	aaaa	114
XVII	10-syllables	4+6	Quintet	aabbb	100

²² Ibid., p. 500.

²³ K. Meller, op. cit., pp. 110-112.

XVIII	12-syllables	6+6	Quintet	aabbb	149
XIX	13-syllables	7+6	Quintet	aabbb	9, 21, 36, 53, 61, 79, 88, 93, 98, 111, 126
XX	14-syllables	8+6	Quintet	aabbb	5, 6, 17, 45, 49, 57, 128
XXI	15-syllables	8+7	Quintet	aabbb	138
XXII	12-syllables	6+6	Sextet	aabbcc	55, 133
XXIII	13-syllables	7+6	Sextet	aabbcc	2, 10, 12, 19, 26, 37, 42, 74, 121
XXIV	13-syllables	7+6	Sextet	aaaaaa	103
XXV	13-syllables	6+7	Sextet	aabbcc	80
XXVI	14-syllables	8+6	Sextet	aabbcc	14, 18, 28, 30, 31, 33, 34, 39, 50, 56, 60, 69, 83, 94, 95, 115, 135, 136, 139, 143
XXVII	14-syllables	7+7	Sextet	aabbcc	73, 99, 101
XXVIII	15-syllables	8+7	Sextet	aabbcc	89, 97, 102, 104, 146, 147
XXIX	16-syllables	8+8	Sextet	aabbcc	141
XXX	12-syllables	6+6	Septet	aabbccc	71
XXXI	13-syllables	7+6	Septet	aabbccc	11, 20, 22, 35, 41, 44, 118, 125
XXXII	14-syllables	8+6	Septet	aabbccc	4, 7, 32, 38, 40, 51, 105, 109, 119
XXXIII	14-syllables	7+7	Septet	aabccc	122
XXXIV	15-syllables	8+7	Septet	aabbccc	96, 110
XXXV	13-syllables	7+6	Octet	aabbccdd	68, 78, 107
XXXVI	14-syllables	8+6	Octet	aabbccdd	106

A comparison of the above table with those in chapter 3 clearly shows that Lubelczyk's choice of stanza differs significantly from that of Kochanowski, who favoured the quatrain. While Lubelczyk's most common stanza type is the quatrain of 13-syllable lines (21 poems), it is not significantly more common than the sextet of 14-syllable lines (20 poems). Lubelczyk uses two stanza lengths — the five- and seven-line stanza — which are not paralleled in Kochanowski's work, while the tercet is significantly more common in Lubelczyk's Psalm paraphrases, occurring eight times in *Psalterz Dawida* compared with a single example in *Psalterz Dawidów* (Psalm 35). Furthermore, he does not use stanzas of more than eight lines, nor, with the exception of Psalm 140 which is an approximation of the classical Sapphic stanza, those containing more than one line length or those modelled on Latin stanza types.

All these features of Lubelczyk's versification set him apart from Kochanowski and link him more closely to the Mediæval tradition. However, Lubelczyk is also closer to the Mediæval tradition than Kochanowski in his lexis, which bears strong similarities to that employed by Mikołaj Rej. S. Urbańczyk draws attention to two features of Lubelczyk's lexis: his use of abstract nouns (specifically those ending in -ość),²⁴ and of diminutives,²⁵ which are also a feature of Rej's translation. In a sample of ten Psalms he found 91 abstract nouns ending in -ość and 56 diminutives, as opposed to only 35 abstract nouns and 13 diminutives in Kochanowski's version of the same Psalms.

This use of abstract nouns in part reflects the language of the original, for in those Psalms where Lubelczyk uses a large number of these nouns a similar increase can also be found in Kochanowski's translation. The fact remains, however, that abstract nouns characterise fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Polish:

Sympatię do przyrostka -ość stwierdzono także u starszych tłumaczy *Psalterza* — Wróbla i Leopoldy, dużo ich u Reja, z czego wniosek, że nasz Lubelczyk ulegał modzie wówczas powszechniej. Upodobanie w omawianych tu abstraktach przejawia się już w XV w., lecz jego nasilenie przypada na pierwszą połowę XVI w. Później ta moda ginie.²⁶

That is not to say that Kochanowski's lexis was not influenced by the language employed by other Polish translators of the Psalms. Indeed, following Ewa Ostrowska,²⁷ Helena Rybicka-Nowacka claims that Kochanowski's language reveals the influence of Rej:

Do interesujących, nowatorskich wniosków prowadzi — dokonane przez Ewę Ostrowską — porównanie przekładu Kochanowskiego z wcześniejszym, prozaicznym tłumaczeniem Reja. Ukazuje ono, jak często Kochanowski sięgał do Reja w poszukiwaniu oryginalnego, rodzimego słownictwa, zwłaszcza wzbogającego tekst łaciński epitetu.²⁸

24 S. Urbańczyk, op. cit., pp. 501-502.

25 Ibid., pp. 503-504.

26 Ibid., pp. 502-503.

27 E. Ostrowska, "Walka o piękne słowo psalterzowe", *Z dziejów języka polskiego i jego piękna* (Kraków, 1978), pp. 290-336.

28 H. Rybicka-Nowacka, "Wkład Jana Kochanowskiego w rozwój polskiego języka literackiego", *Jan Kochanowski i kultura odrodzenia*, ed. Z. Libera and M. Żurowski (Warsaw, 1985), pp. 150-159 (p.156).

However, there is a natural tendency in works of lyric verse to use adjectives to embellish the language. Thus the evidence adduced by Rybicka-Nowacka, while interesting from the point of view of Rej's translation, is not conclusive, since it relies on a comparison between works composed in two different genres and, therefore, subject to different requirements.

The evidence set out above concerning Lubelczyk's versification and language does, however, demonstrate that Kochanowski's rendering of the Psalms contains a number of elements which set it apart from the only previous Polish verse paraphrase of the whole Book of Psalms. These elements, along with the absence of any discussion of the Biblical text or critique of the state of the Church in Kochanowski's rendering, distinguish it from other Polish translations of the Scriptures and place it firmly in the European tradition of Psalm translations.

4.2: *Psałterz Dawidów* in the context of the western European tradition of Psalm translations

4.2.1: French and Italian vernacular Psalm paraphrases

A comparison of *Psałterz Dawidów* with verse and prose translations in other vernacular languages reveals striking differences between French and Italian paraphrases and Kochanowski's rendering. Both France and especially Italy had a strong tradition of translating Biblical texts. While no scholar has yet compiled a list of all the separate editions of the Psalms published in France in the sixteenth century, W. van Eys²⁹ cites 136 editions of vernacular translations of the entire Bible (rather than just of the New Testament) in the period 1517-1579.³⁰ More accurate data is available for Italy,³¹ where thirty different translations of the Bible and fifteen of the Psalms³² appeared between 1471 and 1546. Moreover, half of the translations of the Bible and two-thirds of the renderings of the Psalms appeared in the Reformation period.

²⁹ W. van Eys, *Bibliographie des Bibles et des Nouveaux Testaments en langue Française des XV^{me} et XVI^{me} siècles* (Geneva, 1900-1901).

³⁰ It should be noted that this is not the total number of different translations, but the number of editions. Where an individual translation has been reprinted, van Eys has counted it separately from the original edition.

³¹ This data is provided in: A. Schutte, *Printed Italian Vernacular Religious Books 1465-1550: A Finding List* (Geneva, 1983).

³² This number does not include translations of parts of the Book of Psalms. A. Schutte, *ibid.*, pp. 86-90, lists two abridged Psalters, twenty-nine translations of the seven Penitential Psalms, and sixteen commentaries on some or all of the Psalms.

However, there is no evidence to suggest that Kochanowski consulted any of these translations during his own work on the Psalms. These works appear to have been rejected³³ for a variety of reasons; some because they were derived from the Vulgate text exclusively (as in the case of Silvio Phileto's prose rendering *Il Psalterio di Dauitte* (Venice, 1523)), and others because they were too wordy (e.g. Bernardo Tasso's verse rendering of Psalms 1-30 in *Rime de Messer Bernardo Tasso. Divise in cinque libri nouamente stampate* (Venice, 1560)) or strayed too far from the original text, and still others because they did not contain all the Psalms.³⁴

The absence of any passages in *Psałterz Dawidów* which reveal a demonstrable similarity to the French vernacular translations in existence at the time lends some weight to W. Weintraub's contention that Kochanowski's knowledge of French was either slight or non-existent.³⁵ Certainly there is little evidence to support F. Hoesick's assertion that Kochanowski's rendering contains a number of similarities to, and borrowings from, the French vernacular verse paraphrase by Clément Marot and Théodore de Bèze.³⁶

While it is not certain whether or not Kochanowski's knowledge of French was sufficient to enable him to read these works had he so wished, there is no doubt about his knowledge of Italian. However, there appears to be no evidence that he used any of the Italian vernacular translations published in the sixteenth century. In addition to the reasons set out above, it is worth mentioning that Italian translations might also have been considered undesirable by the poet because of the vigorous activities of the Inquisition and the censor. Indeed, the title-pages to a great many of the translations indicate that they had been passed for publication; Antonio Brucioli's *I sacri Psalmi di David, distinti in cinque libri, tradotti dall' Ebraica uerita in lingua toscana* (Venice, 1534) states that it was published "Con gratia et Privilegio dello Inclito Senato Veneto", while Innocentio Ringhieri's *Il Psalterio di Davide. In ottava Rima* (Bologna, c. 1550) states that it was approved by the Inquisitor: "Stampato in Bologna, di uolonta del Reuerendiss[imo] Monsignor L. Lenci Vicelegato, & del Reuerendo Padre Inquisitore." The Church also regulated neo-Latin

33 This assumes that Kochanowski was aware of, and familiar with, all the translations — vernacular and neo-Latin — available at the time. It is, of course, unlikely that he would have had access to all these works, and it is more probable that he consulted only those translations and commentaries which were well spoken of, and of these he used only those which matched his requirements.

34 This also applies to a number of neo-Latin and Polish translations.

35 W. Weintraub, "Łacińskie podłoże polskiej literatury XVI wieku", pp. 24-25.

36 F. Hoesick, "Zc studyów nad Kochanowskim", *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności*, Wydział filologiczny, Series II, vol. 29 (Kraków, 1908), pp. 329-396.

renderings of the Psalms, as can be seen from Iovita Rapicius' *Iovitæ Rapicii Brixiani de numero oratorio libri quinque, ad Reginaldum Polum, Cardinalem amplissimum. Eiusdem paraphrasis in psalmos Davidis, & quædam carmina* (Venice, 1554), privilege for which was granted by Pope Julius III: "Cum Privilegio Iulii III, Pontificis Maximi, & Senatus Veneti, in annos XV", and from Ioannis Baptista Folengius' *Ioannis Baptistæ Folengii Mantuani Monachi Casinatis Ordinis S. Benedicti In omnes Davidicos Psalmos doctissima, ac plane diuina Commentaria* (Rome, 1585), on the title-page of which reference is made to a number of corrections having been made to a previous, much criticised edition,³⁷ and to this new edition having been approved for publication by Pope Gregory XIII: "Nunc recens studio, atque opera Monachorum eiusdem Congregationis ab erroribus, ac mendis, quibus olim iam inde a prima impressione, cum Typographum incuria, tum hæreticorum vitio vndique redundabant, ex manuscripti cum impresso exemplari collatione quam diligentissime expurgata, Et nutu, ac voluntate Beatissimi Gregorii XIII. Pont[ifici] Max[imi] nuperimme typis excusa."

However, while there is no evidence to connect Kochanowski's *Psałterz Dawidów* with the vernacular translations of Italy and France, his rendering reveals clear similarities to the neo-Latin translations which appeared in large numbers in Reformation Europe.

4.2.2: Western European neo-Latin Psalm paraphrases.

While the sixteenth century saw a rise in nationalism in the countries of Europe and, with it, a channelling of literary activities into the creation of a vernacular, i.e. national, literature, it also witnessed the publication of large numbers of works in Latin. The preoccupation of the Renaissance with the literatures and art of the Classical period led to the composition of original works in Latin. This trend was current at a time when the Reformation swept across Europe, bringing with it a host of new translations of Biblical texts. However, while prose translations and some vernacular verse translations of the Psalms sought to convey the meaning of the Biblical text precisely, these neo-Latin verse paraphrases sought to reinterpret the Psalms as works of Latin lyric verse, whereas,

³⁷ No indication is given as to when this work was first published, but Dobrzycki (op. cit., p. 13) cites an edition published in Basle in 1540. While I have been unable to locate this edition, there is little doubt that this first edition dates from the early 1540s, as two of the three prefaces to the 1585 edition are dated significantly earlier (1542 and 1543 respectively).

though probably originally conceived as works of melic verse³⁸ (the incipits to a number of them contain directions on the instruments which were to accompany them),³⁹ the Psalms had been transformed by the translator of the Vulgate text into sometimes clumsy prose. In this way, when these translators rendered the Psalms into neo-Latin verse, they subordinated the religious text to literary considerations.

That is not to say that the poets who composed these paraphrases were not concerned with ascertaining the true meaning of the original text. Indeed, the overwhelming majority of these poets, rejecting the Vulgate translation as flawed, based their renderings on the Hebrew text, or at least on a modern Latin translation of it. It should be noted that the genre of neo-Latin verse paraphrases attracted not only Protestant and Catholic poets, but even Jews such as Joannes Toscanus, whose translation appeared in Paris in 1575 under the title *Psalmi Davidis ex hebraica veritate latinis versibus expressi*, and that it was free from the polemic which customarily accompanied the translation of the Scriptures into vernacular languages.

The view of the Psalms as works of verse led to metrical experimentation. Aware that the Psalms conveyed a diapason of different emotions (joy, sorrow, thanksgiving, etc.), the neo-Latin poets gradually moved away from using one and the same metre to translate all the Psalms. While Eobanus Hessus' rendering of 1529⁴⁰ was written exclusively in hexameters, and others composed their paraphrases of

38 The view that the Psalms had originally been set to music was popular in the sixteenth century and was referred to in a number of commentaries. For example, the notes which accompany Pagninus' translation of Psalm 4 (*Liber Psalmorum Davidis. Tralatio duplex, Vetus & Noua* (Paris, 1556)), state that: "Ad instrumenta enim musica decantatos fuisse Psalmos notum est: sed sic vt modulatio organorum, animum parat ad percipienda plenius verba Sacri carminis".

While the biblical text of the Psalms continued to represent them as being in prose, a number of sixteenth-century poets writing both in Latin and in the vernacular sought to render these Hebrew poems in verse. However, the demands of Latin prosody meant that changes had to be made to the text in order to make it fit the metre. Such rewritings eventually gave way to more drastic reworkings of the text, such as that which we witness in the translations of George Buchanan, Eobanus Hessus and others, who insert and omit material according to their own literary requirements, so that, in the most extreme cases, the text comes to resemble a Latin poem on a religious theme rather than a Latin translation of the biblical text.

That the Psalms were seen by some poets as Latin poems in their own right is apparent from the frequent references to Psalms as "Odes", both in the titles of neo-Latin verse paraphrases (e.g. Cornelius Crocus' *Ode sacra tricolos tetrastrophos ad psalmum 45* (Amsterdam, 1544), Thomas Nymburgenus' *Thomæ Mitis Nymburgeni varij generis Odæ in Psalmos Davidis Pœnitentiales, atque Propheticos de Christo* (Prague, 1562)), and also in treatises on poetics (e.g. Joannes Lucienbergius' *Methodica Instructio componendi omnis generis Versus, Carmina, & Odas seu Psalmos* (Basle, 1575)).

39 For example, Latin translations of the Hebrew text indicate that Psalms 4 and 6 were to be sung "in Neginoth", Psalm 5 "in Nephiloth", both of which are thought to be types of musical instrument, while Psalms 7 and 8 are termed "Siggaion" and "Haggithith" respectively, these being types of song.

40 *Psalterium Davidis carmine redditum per Eobanum Hessum* (Marburg, 1529). This was the first Latin verse translation of all 150 Psalms. However, it was not the first attempt to render Psalms in Latin verse, an honour which belongs to Antonius Giraldinus (*Metaphrasis psalmorum VII pœnitentialium litaniarumque* (Paris, 1497-1501)).

selected Psalms in elegiac couplets, many poets employed a variety of metres. This tendency resulted in some successful translations, most notably George Buchanan's paraphrases of 1566⁴¹ which employed thirty metres,⁴² but it also produced its fair share of oddities:

Towards the end of the 16th century a sort of philological acrobaticism produced all kinds of stunts: Joannes Fritscius (1593) manufactures a translation which used at least one hundred different meters, Bersmanus (1594 or 1597) one that used fifty-eight, [... while] Ganeius managed as early as 1547 to employ ca. forty different meters for only seventy-five Psalms.⁴³

This conception of the Psalms as works of Latin verse led to a tendency which was avoided in vernacular paraphrases, namely the admixture of elements of Classical mythology in a Judæo-Christian text. This tendency is extremely widespread. An analysis of Psalms 18 and 19 in the versions by Eobanus Hessus (1529), Flaminus and Spinula (1546),⁴⁴ and George Buchanan (1566) reveals the following Classical references: Mt. Olympus (Buchanan: XVIII line 15 "olympi", line 81 "olympo"; XIX line 6 "olympi"; Spinula: XVIII line 55 "Olympus", line 155 "Olympi"); the river Styx (Hessus: XVIII line 14 "Stygis"); Mt. Hybla, a mountain in Sicily (Hessus: XIX line 51 "Hyblaeis"); Eurus, the South-East wind (Spinula: XVIII line 176 "Eurus"); and the Attali, descendants of the Greek King Attalus III who was renowned both for his wealth and his ability to weave cloth from gold (Spinula: XIX line 53 "Attali").

⁴¹ *Psalmorum Davidis paraphrastica poetica, nunc primum edita, Authore Georgio Buchanano, Scoto, poetarum nostri sæculi facile principe* (Geneva, 1566). Selections had appeared in editions published in Paris in 1556 (Psalms 1-15, 104, 114, 127, 137) and 1560 (Psalms 1-15, 114, 127, 137). However this is the first known edition of Buchanan's translation of the entire Psalter, although Gaertner (op. cit., p. 295) posits the existence of an edition from 1564.

It appears that the publisher Estienne had brought out the 1566 edition at a time when Buchanan was still revising his translation, which is confirmed by a letter of 24 July 1566 from Buchanan to a Frenchman, Pierre Daniel, in which he asks Daniel to prevent Estienne from reprinting the Psalms without Buchanan's express permission. The revised edition appeared in Antwerp in March 1567.

⁴² This number was reduced to twenty-nine following the 1571 edition when Buchanan combined a couplet containing a trochaic tetrameter acatalectic and a trochaic tetrameter catalectic (used in Psalms 105 and 129) into a single line, forming a trochaic octonarius catalectic, a metre already employed in Psalms 119 and 124.

⁴³ J. Gaertner, op. cit., p. 273.

⁴⁴ M. Antonius Flaminus's translation of a selection of thirty Psalms (1, 3, 6, 11-13, 15, 23, 30, 42, 100, 113-114, 120-134, 137, 144) appeared in Venice in 1546 under the title *M. Antonii Flaminii paraphrasis in triginta Psalmos versibus scripta*. P. Franciscus Spinula translated the remaining 120 Psalms, to which Flaminus' translations were added, and the work was published in Paris in 1546 under the title *Psalmi Davidis Regis et Vatis inclity, a M. Antonio Flaminio & P. Francisco Spinula Poetis elegantissimis, Latinibus versibus expressi*.

Thus, neo-Latin verse paraphrases of the Psalms contain two tendencies: the tendency towards using a variety of metres, which is also found in vernacular renderings; and the tendency towards inserting references to the Classical tradition, which is peculiar to these neo-Latin works.

The neo-Latin paraphrases of the Psalms betray no evidence of the religious disputes which split Europe in the sixteenth century. They are literary works and often depart significantly from the original text, upon which they expand at length. However, while Kochanowski's *Psalterz Dawidów* adheres more closely to the original text than does, for example, Buchanan's *Paraphrasis Psalmorum*, nonetheless he is closer to this tradition than to the embryonic Polish tradition of biblical translation, which followed denominational lines.

4.2.3: The verse translations of Eobanus Hessus and George Buchanan

Of the forty-nine Latin verse translations of some or all of the Psalms published between 1529 and 1579, we know from Kochanowski himself that the poet was familiar with at least two: those by Eobanus Hessus⁴⁵ and George Buchanan.⁴⁶

Hessus' translation was the first neo-Latin verse rendering of all the Psalms, but incurred Kochanowski's disapproval for its verbosity and for the fact that it is composed entirely in hexameters. In his letter to Stanisław Fogelweder of 6 October 1571 Kochanowski asked his friend not to press him to complete his work on the Psalms, citing the example of Hessus' translation: "Bo to Hessus trzi lata robil, a przedsię zle."

Buchanan's paraphrases, on the other hand, marked the zenith of the genre and earned him the title, given to him by the publisher Estienne, of "poetarum nostri sæculi facile princeps", an opinion shared by Kochanowski:

⁴⁵ *Psalterium Davidis carmine redditum per Eobanum Hessum* (Marburg, 1529)

⁴⁶ *Paraphrasis Psalmorum Davidis Poetica, nunc primum edita, auctore Georgio Buchanano, Scoto, poetarum nostri sæculi facile principe* (Antwerp, 1566).

Soluisti cura, et longo, Bucanane, labore
 Omnes qui vatum nomen habere student,
 Ne in cassum certent Solymæi carmina regis
 Aptare ad Latiae fila canora lyræ:
 Nam quicumque opus hoc aggressi aliquando fuerunt,
 Tanto interuallo, tu Bucanane, præis
 Omnibus, ut veniens ætas quoque non videatur
 Ereptura tuis hoc decus e manibus.⁴⁷

Buchanan's rendering contains the same blurring of denominational issues that we witness in Kochanowski's *Psalterz Dawidów*. Arrested in Portugal in August 1550 and tried by the Inquisition on charges of eating meat in Lent, of passing injurious reflections on monks and of having heretical views concerning the Eucharist,⁴⁸ — a process which lasted some eighteen months, — Buchanan was sent to a monastery⁴⁹ in 1551 to serve his penance. It was here, according to his brief autobiography, that he began his work on the Psalms:

Ut ad rem redeam, cum quæstores prope sesquiannum et se et illum fatigassent, tandem ne frustra hominem non ignotum vexasse crederentur, eum in monasterium ad aliquot menses⁵⁰ recludunt [sic], ut exactius erudiretur a monachis, hominibus quidem alioqui nec inhumanis nec malis sed omnis religionis ignaris. Hoc maxime tempore Psalmorum Davidicorum complures vario carminum genere in numeros redegit.⁵¹

However, on his return to Scotland in 1561, he joined the (Calvinist) Church of Scotland, and in places his paraphrases are similar to the interpretation given by Calvin in his commentary to the Psalms. Thus, it is likely that, even if Buchanan began work on the Psalms during

⁴⁷ "Ad Buchananum", was written in 1568 and appeared as Epigram 68 in *Elegiarum Libri IIII. Eiusdem Foricænia siue Epigrammatum libellus* (Kraków, 1584).

⁴⁸ Buchanan had originally been charged with heresy by Cardinal Betoun in 1539 following a satirical poem attacking the Franciscans. However, he fled to Paris before he could stand trial. It was the arrival of Betoun in Paris that prompted Buchanan's decision to move to Bordeaux and thence to Portugal, where he was finally arrested. The majority of the charges levelled by the Portugese Inquisition, however, date from his stay in Paris.

⁴⁹ This was the monastery of St. Bento (Benedict) at Xabregas, a suburb of Lisbon.

⁵⁰ The period of his penance appears to have been July-December 1551, although the Inquisition did not discharge him until February 1552.

⁵¹ Buchanan's autobiography is set out in J. Aitken, *The Trial of George Buchanan before the Lisbon Inquisition including the text of Buchanan's Defences along with a translation and commentary* (Edinburgh, 1939), pp. xiv-xxvi. This passage occurs on pp. xxii-xxiv.

his six-month incarceration, they were subsequently completed and re-edited.

Buchanan's paraphrases were extremely popular in sixteenth-century Europe. Twenty-four editions appeared in his lifetime (he died in 1582),⁵² and some of his Psalms were set to music in 1579.⁵³

While Kochanowski would not have liked the presence of Classical references in a Biblical text, it is likely that his high estimation of Buchanan's work was due partly to the elegance of the verse and partly to the variety of verse metres employed. While the majority of the twenty-nine or thirty metres employed by Buchanan are modelled on metres used by Horace, Prudentius or Boethius (at least, these are the exponents cited by Plantin in his *Carmina genera* which is attached to Buchanan's rendering), he also makes use of Mediæval developments and his own innovations:

[...] all but 5 of Buchanan's metres are classical; 2 of these are common in mediaeval verse, and the 3 combinations which are novel are in fact close in structure and composition to classical models.⁵⁴

Of these, seven metres account for a little over two-thirds of the Psalms, while eleven are used only once.

There is no evidence, however, to suggest that Kochanowski modelled any of his stanza types on Buchanan's metres, although he does adapt the Sapphic stanza for use in Polish verse. The similarities between these two translations, first noted by A. Sienicki,⁵⁵ are lexical or stylistic and will be examined in the following chapters.

⁵² J. Gaertner, op. cit., p. 276, only acknowledges sixteen editions in the period 1566-1582. However, for so many editions to appear in the space of sixteen years attests to the work's popularity for, as Gaertner (ibid., pp. 274-275) writes: "[...] it was fairly rare that a publisher entrusted the success of a book to the efforts of only one translator [...]."

⁵³ I. McFarlane, *Buchanan* (London, 1981), p. 263: "Another indication of Buchanan's popularity is the publication in 1579 of the first attempt to set his paraphrases to music; only the first forty-one Psalms are involved, but the volume is a very interesting one."

⁵⁴ R. Green, "George Buchanan's Psalm Paraphrases: Matters of Metre", *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Sanctandream: Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies — St. Andrews 24 August to 1 September 1982*, ed. I. McFarlane (New York, 1986), pp. 51-60 (pp. 52-53).

⁵⁵ A. Sienicki, "Stosunek Psalterza przekładania Jana Kochanowskiego do Paraphrasis Psalmorum Jerzego Buchanana", *Sprawozdaniu dyrekcyi gimnazjum w Samborze za rok 1893*, pp. 3-65.

Chapter 5: Western European sources for *Psalterz Dawidów*

5.1: The question of sources

The question of which sources Kochanowski used in the preparation of his translation of the Psalms has long been a matter of debate. As has been shown above (4.1), the verse translations of Lubelczyk (1558) and Kochanowski (1579) stand apart from other translations of the Scriptures undertaken in Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century insofar as they lack any discussion of the authority of Scripture,¹ any debate as to the desirability or necessity of producing vernacular translations of the Scriptures, and any indication as to the translations upon which their renderings are based. Moreover, there is no record of those books which Kochanowski himself owned which might give some indication as to the works which he consulted while preparing his translation.

Even the most cursory examination of *Psalterz Dawidów*, however, allows one to make certain conclusions. Firstly, the prefacing of each Psalm with the Vulgate incipit² indicates that he consulted the Vulgate text, itself a Latin translation by St. Jerome of the Greek Septuagint.³

¹ The question of the authority of Scripture was typically reduced to a discussion of the accuracy of the Vulgate translation, and a debate as to whether or not the Hebrew and Greek texts were a more accurate representation of the word of God. The polemical tracts which preface Polish translations of the Scriptures in the second half of the sixteenth century are not divided along strictly denominational lines, as can be seen from the fact that three Catholics, Jan Leopolita, Stanisław Hozjusz, and Andrzej Fricz Modrzewski give three different answers to the question. While Leopolita argued against using any text save the Vulgate, Stanisław Hozjusz (Hosius), one of the leading figures of the Counter-Reformation in Poland, allowed for restricted translation of the Scriptures and for the use of the Church Slavonic text in addition to the Vulgate, claiming that St. Jerome had translated the Scriptures into the Dalmatian language (D. Frick, op. cit., p. 42), and Andrzej Fricz Modrzewski, a Polish Erasmian and advocate of Church reform, cited the Hebrew and Greek texts as the supreme authority, and considered the Vulgate text to be just another Latin translation from the Greek.

The positions of both Leopolita and Fricz Modrzewski could be justified from the point of view of the Tridentine decree, the statement drawn up by the Catholic Church following the fourth session of the Council of Trent, which, though it affirmed the Vulgate text as the supreme authority for the Scriptures, made no reference to the Hebrew and Greek texts, neither approving them nor forbidding future translators from consulting them.

² For example, Psalm 1 is identified by number and subtitled "Beatus vir, qui non abiit in consilio impiorum", which corresponds to the opening of verse 1 of this Psalm in the Vulgate translation (cf. Vulgate, Psalm 1, v. 1: "Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum, & in via peccatorum non stetit, & in cathedra pestilentiae non sedit").

³ Jerome (c. 345-420 a.d.) produced three versions of the Old Testament (and consequently of the Book of Psalms), on which he worked in the periods 382-385 and 390-405. The first of these, a revision of the so-called Old Latin translation of the Septuagint, was completed c. 383-385, and became known as *Psalterium Romanum*. His revision was a conservative one, and appears to have been a correction of the text rather than a new translation.

The second version, the *Psalterium Gallicanum* or *Psalterium iuxta Græcos*, was finished c. 386-392. Heavily reliant on the Septuagint, this version was regarded by Jerome as inferior to his later translation from the Hebrew, but it was the only one of the three versions which was accepted by the Catholic Church. It is this version which was accepted into the Vulgate text.

The third translation (*Psalterium iuxta Hebræos*, c. 405), based on the Hebrew text which Jerome had come to view as the best source for the Old Testament, was strongly criticised by the Church. Even

Secondly, the fact that Kochanowski has chosen to follow the numbering scheme as it appears in the Hebrew text,⁴ has divided the Psalms into five parts or books, and that his rendering does not contain the additional material present in the Vulgate translation in Psalms 14 (13)⁵ and 145 (144)⁶ indicates that he also consulted at least one text other than the Vulgate translation.

Although Kochanowski had attended lectures on the Scriptures while a student at Padua,⁷ and despite early efforts by Myszkowski to persuade him to join the priesthood,⁸ the fact remains that he was neither a theologian nor a biblical scholar, but a poet. It is, therefore, extremely unlikely that he had received any training in Hebrew. Consequently, if he did consult the Hebrew text — and there is little doubt that he did, — then he did so indirectly, by means of a Latin or vernacular translation.

St. Augustine accused Jerome of tampering with the Scriptures and of introducing Judaism into the them.

For a more detailed discussion of Jerome's translations, see Eugene F. Rice, *St. Jerome in the Renaissance* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), and *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*, ed. R. E. Brown, J. A. Fitzmeyer, and R. E. Murphy (London, 1981), p. 569.

⁴ The two versions agree only in Psalm 1-8 and 148-150. Psalm 9 in the Hebrew text contains only twenty-one verses, while it contains 39 verses in the Vulgate text. Thus verse 1 of Psalm 10 in the Hebrew text corresponds to verse 22 of Psalm 9 in the Vulgate. This means that, following Psalm 9, the numbering of the Psalms differs by one in the two versions.

This discrepancy in numbering is intensified in verse 1 of Psalm 115 (according to the Hebrew text), which the Vulgate considers to be not verse 1 of Psalm 114, but verse 9 of Psalm 113. This discrepancy in numbering continues into the next Psalm, 116 (Hebrew), which the Vulgate text denotes as 114. The Vulgate text considers verse 10 of Psalm 116 (Hebrew) to be verse 1 of Psalm 115 in the Vulgate edition. Thus this additional discrepancy in numbering is resolved before the start of Psalm 117 (116).

However, parity between the numbering systems is only restored following Psalm 147 (146). The Vulgate text presents verse 12 of Psalm 147 (Hebrew) as verse 1 of Psalm 147 (Vulgate). Thus the two versions coincide once more in Psalms 148-150.

⁵ A comparison of Psalm 14, v. 3 as it appears in Calvin's translation of the Hebrew text (*Commentarius in librum Psalmorum* (Geneva, 1578) with the same passage in the Vulgate text reveals the presence of three sentences in the Vulgate text which have no equivalent in the Hebrew text (cf. Calvin: "Quisque recessit simul putridi facti sunt: non est qui faciat bonum, ne vnus quidem"; Vulgate: "Omnes declinauerunt, simul inutiles facti sunt, non est qui faciat bonum, non est vsque ad vnum. Sepulchrum patens est guttur eorum, linguis suis dolose agebant, venenum aspidum sub labiis eorum. Quorum os maledictione & amaritudine plenum est, veloces pedes eorum ad effundendum sanguinem. Contritio & infelicitas in viis eorum, & viam pacis non cognouerunt, non est timor dei ante oculos eorum"). This additional material is not found in Kochanowski's translation.

⁶ A comparison of Psalm 145, v. 13 as it appears in Calvin's translation of the Hebrew text with the same passage in the Vulgate text reveals that the Vulgate text is longer by a whole sentence (cf. Calvin: "Regnum tuum regnum omnium seculorum, & dominatio tua in omnem generationem & generationem"; Vulgate: "Regnum tuum regnum omnium seculorum, & dominatio tua in omni generatione & generationem. Fidelis dominus in omnibus verbis suis, & sanctus in omnibus operibus suis"). This additional sentence does not occur in Kochanowski's translation.

⁷ N. Glokke, "Ян Кохановский и его значение в истории польской образованности", *Университетские известия*, XXXVII (1897) No. 11, pp. 1-112, No. 12, pp. 113-184, and XXXVIII (1898), No. 3, pp. 185-307. Glokke writes (No. 11, p. 36): "В первом часу утра (по нынешнему в шестом) и францисканец и доминиканец одновременно читали лекции по Священному Писанию, а в третьем часу (восьмом) богословие."

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 12, p. 169: "[...] Кохановскому неоднократно предлагали принять духовный сан. Об этом, вероятно, особенно старались епископы Падневский и Мышковский, в особенности последний, предложивший ему бенефицию с познанского прихода, как подготовительную ступень к рукоположению."

Moreover, his inability to read Hebrew would have prevented him from returning "ad fontes" in order to elucidate those passages in which the Vulgate translation is imprecise and the meaning obscured. Thus he would have had to make use not only of translations, but also of exegetical works.

However, Kochanowski's purpose was not simply to translate the Psalms into Polish, but also to render them into verse. We know from some of Kochanowski's other verse works that he, like poets "for the last 1000 years",⁹ often composed by imitation, that is to say, by selecting a model for his poem from among the best exponents of the appropriate genre, and hanging his verses onto this ready-made 'frame'. This method of composition underwent something of a renaissance in the sixteenth century:

By the time Kochanowski went to Padua and began to write, the subject of the imitation of model authors had long been under discussion, and treatises on the technique of *imitatio* listing exact procedures for assimilating passages from classical authors were being produced. [...] [C]lassical texts were actively utilized as instructional models in the training of a young writer [...]¹⁰

Although Kochanowski's efforts met with varying degrees of success,¹¹ nonetheless, the fact remains that he, in common with neo-Latin and vernacular poets in France and Italy, consciously employed this technique in his own verse works.¹² Nor is his use of this technique confined to original works. H. Sobczakówna notes that elements of *imitatio* can also be witnessed in Kochanowski's translations:

⁹ R. Green, "George Buchanan's Psalm Paraphrases: Matters of Metre", *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Sanctandream: Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies — St. Andrews, 24 August to 1 September 1982*, (New York, 1986), pp. 51-60 (p. 56).

¹⁰ J. Glomski, "The role of *imitatio* in Jan Kochanowski's *Elegiae*, *Lyriconum libellus*, and *Pieśni*", *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, XX (1987), pp. 34-59 (p. 37).

¹¹ Ibid., p. 50: "In most cases the borrowings from Horace have been inserted into Kochanowski's poetry [in *Lyriconum libellus*] less awkwardly than those from Tibullus [in the first book of *Elegiae*]."

¹² Ibid., pp. 38-39: "Kochanowski's poetry demonstrates the functioning of both the pedagogic and the aesthetic components of *imitatio*. A tendency towards literal quotation in his Latin works reveals an emphasis on learning, while the more relaxed methods of imitation employed in *Pieśni*, a reflection of modifications forced on the author by the adoption of the vernacular, draw attention to Kochanowski's own creative abilities."

Ibid., p. 36: "Petrarchism is reflected in Kochanowski's amatory *Pieśni* through re-combinations of Petrarchan motifs in the presentation of women and the expression of love, [...] The imitation of Petrarch is closely related to neo-Latin imitation of the classics, for Petrarch was recommended as a model author by Italian theorists in treatises on the composition of poetry in the vernacular."

Osiągnął też swój cel, gdyż jego tłumaczenia we "Fraszkiach" nie zatraciły anakreontowego wdzięku i lekkości, ani zwięzłości greckich poematów; przekłady w "Pieśniach" tchną duchem horacjanśkim mimo pewnej polskiej stylizacji, [...] ¹³

As we shall see in chapter 6, Kochanowski also employed this technique in *Psałterz Dawidów*.

Thus it is necessary to identify two different types of text, those which he used in order to understand the basic meaning of the biblical text, and those on which he modelled his verse rendering.¹⁴ As has been mentioned above, there is little external evidence concerning the sources and models for Kochanowski's translation, and scholars have had, for the most part, to base their conclusions on the similarities between individual passages in *Psałterz Dawidów* and corresponding passages in other texts, be they translations or commentaries, in prose or verse, in Latin, Polish, or French.¹⁵

The nature of *Psałterz Dawidów* means that the task of identifying the sources and models of Kochanowski's translation is not an easy one. Kochanowski sought not to produce a faithful rendering of the biblical text in verse, but rather a verse paraphrase to rival the western European metrical translations. These western European translations, and in particular those composed in Latin, were often very free. Regarding the goal of the genre of metrical translations as the production of a work of elegant verse, men such as Buchanan subordinated the requirements placed upon them as translator to those placed upon them as poet.

Kochanowski's translation, as a literary work first and foremost, also contains a number of departures from the biblical text which were motivated by the demands of the genre. It is this subordination of the religious aspect of the text to literary demands, the addition and omission of material in order to produce a polished work of verse, the tendency to paraphrase rather than to translate literally, which has hampered attempts to identify the texts which Kochanowski used to help him render the Psalms into Polish verse. These tendencies often obscure features which

¹³ H. Sobczakówna, "Jan Kochanowski jako tłumacz", *Prace polonistyczne studentów uniwersytetu poznańskiego*, pp. 1-41 (p. 34).

¹⁴ S. Dobrzycki, ("Psałterz Kochanowskiego: jego powstanie, źródła, wzory", *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności*, Wydział filologiczny, Series III, vol. 3 (Kraków, 1911), pp. 1-144) was the first to apply this two-fold classification to *Psałterz Dawidów*, terming the former group of texts — which might include both translations and commentaries, — "źródła" (sources), and the latter — verse paraphrases of the Psalms), — "wzory" (models).

¹⁵ Although Kochanowski knew Italian, the question of whether or not he made use of Italian translations in *Psałterz Dawidów* has been ignored by scholars. Rather, they have limited their study of Kochanowski's debt to Italy to the influence on him of Italian versification.

might indicate from which translation or commentary Kochanowski derived his reading in a particular passage, and our information on the texts consulted by the poet comes entirely from those instances where his translation can be seen to agree lexically or grammatically (e.g. choice of tense or person, use of apostrophe, etc.) with one translation or commentary in preference to another.¹⁶

The task of identifying the sources of Kochanowski's translation is further complicated by the large number of translations of the Psalms made during the Reformation period from the Hebrew by western European theologians and Hebraists. The fact that these men aimed to provide a literal translation of one and the same text means that these texts are often almost identical to one another. Indeed, a comparison of the translations by Sanctes Pagninus,¹⁷ John Calvin¹⁸ and Martin Bucer¹⁹ will reveal that, in a number of instances these texts are identical, while in many others they differ only in their choice of tense,²⁰ mood or word, often producing synonyms of the others' translations. Moreover, in those passages where these translations differ significantly from one another, it should be seen as a reflection of the relative skill or deficiency of the translator, an indication of his degree of familiarity with the Hebrew language.

¹⁶ While this is certainly the basic methodology employed in all studies of the sources of Kochanowski's translation, it is worth qualifying this, by saying that it is only possible to infer that Kochanowski consciously used a given text if similarities to it are found in a number of passages in *Psalterz Dawidów*. This has not always been observed by scholars, as will be seen below from the number of texts to which scholars have seen similarities. Several of these sources or models have been suggested on the basis of only a handful of passages, a practice to which I object. It is unsound to make assumption about texts which feature only rarely, for isolated instances of coincidence might be due to Kochanowski remembering a well-expressed phrase rather than a conscious borrowing from, or imitation of, that text.

¹⁷ *Liber Psalmorum Davidis. Tralatio duplex, Vetus & Noua. Hæc posterior, Sanctis Pagnini, partim ab ipso Pagnino recognita, partim ex Francisci Vatabli Hebraicarum literarum professoris [...] prælectionibus emendata & expolita. Adiectæ sunt annotationes cum ex aliorum tralatione, tum vero ex Commentariis Hebræorum ab ipso Vatablo diligenter excussis [...]* (Paris, 1556).

¹⁸ *In Librum Psalmorum, Iohannis Calvini commentarius* (Geneva, 1557).

¹⁹ *Sacrorum Psalmorum libri quinque ad Ebraicam veritatem genuina versione in Latinum traducti Aretio Felino* (Basle, 1547). Aretius Felinus is a pseudonym for Martin Bucer.

²⁰ Calvin frequently notes in his commentary on the Psalms that tenses and moods are interchangeable in Hebrew, a point which is illustrated by the following extracts from his commentary:

Psalm V, v. 4: "Potest etiam hæc sententia in futuro tempore modi indicatiui legi. Ego tamen optantis potius esse sentio, quemadmodum reddidi."

Psalm IX, v. 4: "Verba futuri temporis in præsens conuerti, quia Dauid Dei gratiam, quæ illi pridem ostensa fuerat, sibi ante oculos iterum proponit."

Psalm XVII, v. 6: "Verbum hoc præteriti temporis continuum actum designat, ideoque præsens tempus complectitur. Nisi forte magis placeat mutare tempus verbi (sicuti quidam faciunt) hoc sensu, Orabo, [...]"

Psalm XVIII, v. 30: "In temporibus verborum hoc semel teneant lectores, præteritum & futurum subinde in hoc Psalmo promiscue vsurpari: [...]"

The methodology forced upon scholars leads to a two-fold problem: firstly, the addition or subtraction of material by Kochanowski introduces a degree of subjectivity, and, secondly, in order to arrive at a definitive answer to the question of which sources he used it is necessary to examine all those translations and commentaries which would have been available to him, i.e. those published in Latin, French, Italian and Polish before 1579,²¹ and this generates a very large corpus indeed.

For these reasons, despite some consensus, there is a certain amount of contradiction and disagreement between the findings of these scholars.

5.1.1: Previous scholarship on the question of sources

There have been a number of attempts by Polish scholars to answer the question of sources. Chief among these are the studies by Antoni Sienicki,²² Ferdynand Hoesick,²³ Stanisław Dobrzycki,²⁴ and Janusz Pelc,²⁵ although the latter restricts himself to suggesting works which Kochanowski might have consulted, rather than adducing any textual evidence to prove his contentions.

Chronologically the first study of the sources of Kochanowski's *Psałterz Dawidów*, Sienicki's article is also one of the most important for two reasons. Firstly, it acknowledges that there are a number of passages in *Psałterz Dawidów* where Kochanowski's text agrees with the reading given in the Hebrew text rather than with the Vulgate,²⁶ and secondly it identifies the principal verse model, and statistically the most important of all the texts used by Kochanowski, as George Buchanan's *Paraphrasis Psalmorum*.²⁷

²¹ While it is unlikely that Kochanowski would have been able to make use of texts published as late as 1579, the year in which *Psałterz Dawidów* was first published, it is nonetheless necessary to regard this as the cut-off date, for the use of any other date as the cut-off point might cause us to overlook a text or even an edition used by Kochanowski.

²² A. Sienicki, "Stosunek Psałterza przekładania Jana Kochanowskiego do Paraphrasis Psalmorum Jerzego Buchanana", *Sprawozdaniu dyrektora gimnazjum w Samborze za rok 1893* (Sambur, 1893), pp. 3-65.

²³ F. Hoesick, "Ze studyów nad Kochanowskim", *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności*, Wydział filologiczny, Series II, vol. 29 (Kraków, 1908), pp. 329-396. Hoesick deals specifically with *Psałterz Dawidów* on pp. 340-345.

²⁴ S. Dobrzycki, op. cit.

²⁵ J. Pelc, *Jan Kochanowski. Szczyt renesansu w literaturze polskiej* (Warsaw, 1980), pp. 397-433.

²⁶ A. Sienicki, op. cit., pp. 11-16.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 17-59.

While not every one of the instances of coincidence between Buchanan's rendering and *Psałterz Dawidów* cited by Sienicki is accepted by other scholars, his conclusion that Kochanowski relied heavily on Buchanan's translation is not questioned. It is Sienicki's work that has allowed scholars to extend the principle of *imitatio* to cover *Psałterz Dawidów*, and which, no doubt, helped Dobrzycki to devise his two-fold classification of the texts used by Kochanowski.

Hoesick's article of 1908 detailing the influence of French literature on Kochanowski's verse is rather less convincing. Lacking the sort of textual evidence set out by Sienicki to prove the influence of Buchanan's translation, Hoesick's article lacks force, and his discussion of the influence of Clément Marot's verse translations of the Psalms²⁸ relies heavily on conjecture.

While Hoesick makes a convincing argument for Kochanowski's familiarity with French literary theory²⁹ and developments in versification,³⁰ he fails to prove that Kochanowski made use of Marot's translation, although this work was certainly known in Poland,³¹ and contains features of which Kochanowski would have approved — not least its doctrinal neutrality,³² and use of a variety of metres.

28 Marot's work on the Psalms was published in stages. The first instalment appeared before 1533 and contained a single Psalm (*Le VI Pseaulme de David, qui est le premier Pseaulme de sept Pseaulmes translate en françoys par Clement Marot [...] de la verite Ebraicque*), this was followed by a translation of thirty Psalms published in Paris in 1541, and of fifty Psalms published in Paris in 1543. Following Marot's death these were supplemented by translations by Théodore de Bèze, and editions containing all 150 Psalms began to appear from 1550. These translations were subsequently set to music (Geneva, 1562).

For a more detailed account of the publication history of this work see C. Mayer, *Bibliographie des œuvres de Clément Marot* (Geneva, 1954), Emmanuel Douen, *Clément Marot et le Psautier Huguenot, étude historique, littéraire, musicale et bibliographique, contenant les mélodies primitives des Psaumes et des spécimens d'harmonie*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1878-1879), and Félix Bovet, *Histoire de Psautier des Eglises Reformées* (Neuchâtel, Paris, 1872).

29 In particular, the views of Du Bellay as expressed in *La Défense et Illustration de la langue française* (Paris, 1549), a work which was well-known both in Italy and in Poland. See Hoesick, op. cit., pp. 331-332.

30 Principally those revealed in the works of Ronsard, whose poetry was studied in Polish schools during Kochanowski's life-time, and in Marot's Psalm translations. See Hoesick, op. cit., pp. 333-334 and 341-344.

31 Ibid., p. 334: "Do spopularyzowania psalmów w przekładzie Marota, i po za granicami Francji przyczyniła się w znacznym stopniu także i dorobiona do nich w Genewie muzyka. Między innemi i w Polsce, po zborach kalwińskich, śpiewano psalmy według melodyi genewskiej".

Hoesick (ibid., pp. 344-345) also sets out a view, first expressed by Tadeusz Grabowski ("Z dziejów literatury kalwińskiej w Polsce", *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności*, wydział filologiczny, ser. II, vol. XXVII (1906), pp. 250-488), that this work was known to both Jakub Lubelczyk and Maciej Rybiński.

32 Ibid., pp. 340-341: "Wydane w dwóch seryach, w r. 1541 i 1543, psalmy te cieszyły się odtąd we Francji (i w Szwajcaryi) wielką poczytnością i sławą, nie tylko w kołach protestanckich kalwińskich, gdzie je śpiewano po zborach, ale i w kołach katolickich literackich."

Although Dobrzycki claims to have found some evidence to support Hoesick's contention, Weintraub's assertion that Kochanowski knew no French³³ has cast some doubt on this view, and Marot's translation is not mentioned by Pelc.

Dobrzycki's article on the sources and models of *Psałterz Dawidów* is the most comprehensive scholarly study of Kochanowski's Psalm translations undertaken to date. Moreover, it is the first study in which an attempt was made to identify the prose texts — translations and exegetical works — from which Kochanowski derived the basic text for his translation.

Taking as his starting-point those western European translations of the Bible and of the Book of Psalms which were published in Kraków in the sixteenth century,³⁴ and the catalogues of Swiss libraries, Dobrzycki identified a number of potential sources and models for Kochanowski's work. While comparisons of the majority of these works to the text of *Psałterz Dawidów* did not reveal "znaczną liczbę uderzających wspólności z Kochanowskim, a różnych od wydań innych",³⁵ they did nonetheless allow him to make some conclusions as to which prose texts Kochanowski might have used. In addition to the Vulgate text, Dobrzycki identifies two other works which, he claims, were used by Kochanowski to a significant extent. The first of these was a parallel-text edition of the Book of Psalms containing the Vulgate text, a translation by Pagninus and notes by Vatable,³⁶ and the second a paraphrastic translation by Campensis.³⁷

However, Dobrzycki's work is also significant because of the number of verse models which he cites. In addition to the translations by Buchanan, Marot and de Bèze, identified by Sienicki and Hoesick respectively, he asserts that there are a number of passages in *Psałterz Dawidów* which reveal the influence of the translations by Hesus,³⁸

33 W. Weintraub, *Rzecz czarnońska*, p. 334.

34 S. Dobrzycki, op. cit., pp. 44-48.

35 Ibid., footnote to p. 42.

36 Pagninus' translation was first published independently of the Vulgate text and Vatable's notes (*Veteris et Novi Instrumenti nova translatio* (Lyon, 1528)). However, the publisher Robert Estienne added in these features for the 1545 edition (*Testamenti veteris et novi Biblia Sacra, ex hebraeo et graeco Latina facta. Altera translatio vetus est, altera nova cum adnotationibus Francisci Vatabli* (Paris, 1545)). Pagninus' translation of the Book of Psalms was first published as a separate work in 1566 (*Liber Psalmorum Davidis. Tralatio duplex, Vetus & Noua. Haec posterior, Sanctis Pagnini, partim ab ipso Pagnino recognita, partim ex Francisci Vatabli Hebraicarum literarum professoris [...] prælectionibus emendata & expolita. Adiectæ sunt annotationes cum ex aliorum tralatione, tum vero ex Commentariis Hebræorum ab ipso Vatablo diligenter excussis* [...] (Paris, 1556)), and it is this format which Dobrzycki suggests Kochanowski used.

37 *Psalmorum omnium iuxta hebraicam veritatem paraphrasis interpretatio* (Antwerp, 1532). An edition appeared the same year in Kraków under the title *Psalmorum omnium iuxta Hebraicam veritatem paraphrastica interpretatio, autore Ioanne Campensi*. This translation was reprinted several times, and was translated into English, Flemish, French and German, and by Mikołaj Rej into Polish.

38 *Psalterium Davidis carmine redditum per Eobanum Hessum* (Marburg, 1529).

Flaminus and Spinula,³⁹ Trzecieski,⁴⁰ Wojewódka,⁴¹ and Lubelczyk.⁴² He also suggests that Kochanowski might have consulted the translations of Mikołaj Rej, although he admits to having not read this work.

Dobrzycki's findings gain a certain amount of support from Janusz Pelc⁴³ who, though he adduces no evidence to support his contentions, suggests that Kochanowski would have known of, and perhaps even consulted, the translations by Campensis, Pagninus, Buchanan, Hesus, Lubelczyk, Rej and Trzecieski. In addition to these texts, Pelc refers to the Septuagint, the three translations by St. Jerome, the "Biblia brzeska",⁴⁴ and the polyglot *Psalterium trilingue* (Basle, 1545). However, it is Dobrzycki's views, which have not been challenged since they were put forward ninety years ago, upon which our understanding of Kochanowski's use of sources is based.

5.2: A re-evaluation of the question of sources

Despite the findings outlined above, corroborating evidence is available for only two translations, those by Hesus and Buchanan. The former is criticised by Kochanowski in his letter of 6 October 1571, and the latter praised in his poem "Ad Buchananum",⁴⁵ written c. 1568. Even then, there is no evidence that he actually used these models, simply that he knew of their existence and had read them.

As for the other sources which Dobrzycki selected for further investigation from those available in Poland in the second half of the sixteenth century, the choice of Campensis' translation is not unreasonable. Not only did this work enjoy considerable success in Europe, as the number of its editions demonstrates, but it was also published in Poland. Furthermore, Kochanowski might well have been introduced to this work and to Hesus' translation by his patron Piotr

39 *Psalmi Davidis Regis et Vatis inclyti, a M. Antonio Flaminio & P. Francisco Spinula Poetis elegantissimis, Latinibus versibus expressi* (Paris, 1546).

40 Andrzej Trzecieski translated only two Psalms, Psalms 1 and 15. However, Dobrzycki cites only one instance of similarity between Trzecieski's translation and *Psałterz Dawidów* in Psalm 1, and two in Psalm 15, of which one can be discounted as a literal translation of the biblical text.

41 The similarities between the translations of Bernard Wojewódka (Psalms 51 and 128) and *Psałterz Dawidów* are restricted to the organisation of material in the first four stanzas of Psalm 128. However, Dobrzycki concedes that, as far as the content of these lines is concerned, Kochanowski has adhered to the biblical text.

42 Jakub Lubelczyk, *Psałterz Dawida* (Kraków, 1558).

43 J. Pelc, op. cit., pp. 409-410.

44 By this he means the Calvinist bible published in Brest-Litovsk in 1563.

45 Epigram 68 in *Elegiarum Libri III, Eiusdem Foricænia siue Epigrammatum libellus* (Kraków, 1584).

Myszkowski, himself patronised by Piotr Tomicki whose patronage extended to Eobanus Hessus⁴⁶ and to whom the poet Jan Dantyszek (Dantyscus) had sent a copy of Campensis' translation in July 1532.⁴⁷

In the absence of corroborating evidence, Dobrzycki had to base his conclusions as to which works Kochanowski used on textual evidence. However, little or no explanation is given as to how he reduced the large number of texts which were available to Kochanowski to the two prose sources other than the Vulgate text and to the seven verse models which he investigated in further detail.

It is in connection with the commentaries that there are the most problems. Among those rejected out of hand are works by Jacobus Perez de Valentia,⁴⁸ Cardinal Thomas Caietanus,⁴⁹ Franciscus Titelmannus,⁵⁰ and Sebastian of Castille.⁵¹ That Dobrzycki does not give any reasons for rejecting Caietanus' work — which contains the Vulgate text, a Latin translation of the Hebrew text and a commentary, — is particularly surprising, for it has ostensibly the same features as the Pagninus-Vatable edition which, according to Dobrzycki "odpowiadała wszystkim warunkom, wymaganym przez Kochanowskiego",⁵² presumably because of these features.

However, while textual analysis justifies Dobrzycki's decision to reject these works, which do not contain a significant number of passages which differ from other versions but with which Kochanowski's rendering agrees, his arguments for the rejection of both Calvin's commentary⁵³ and the Calvinist Bible of 1563⁵⁴ are flawed.

46 J. Pelc, op. cit., p. 400.

47 Ibid., p. 399.

48 *Centum ac quinquaginta Psalmi Davidici cum diligentissima etiam titulorum omnium expositione: Et cum ad christiane fidei solertissima totius prophetici sermonis applicatione: Longe reuerendi in Christo patris Domini Jacobi Perez de Valentia* (Paris, [1509])

49 *Psalmi Davidici ad Hebraicam veritatem castigati: et iuxta sensum quem literalem dicunt enarrati, per Reuerendissimum dominum, dominum Thomam de Vio Caietanum Cardinalem sancti Xisti: cum textu vulgatæ editionis, & indicibus opportunis* (Venice, 1530).

50 *Elucidatio in omnes psalmos iuxta veritatem vulgatæ et Ecclesiæ vsitatæ editionis Latinæ [...]* per Fratrem Franciscum Titelmannum Hasselensem (Antwerp, 1531).

51 *Biblia interprete Sebastiano Castalione. Una cum eiusdem Annotationibus* (Basle, 1554). Dobrzycki cites a separate edition of the Book of Psalms: *Psalterium reliquaque sacrorum literarum carmina et precationis cum argumentis et brevi difficiliorum locorum declaratione Seb. Castalione interprete* (Basle, 1547).

52 S. Dobrzycki, op. cit., p. 56.

53 *In librum Psalmorum, Ioannis Calvini commentarius* (Geneva, 1557). This work, published in Latin, subsequently appeared in a French edition (*Commentaires sur le livre des Pseaumes* (Geneva, 1561)). Copies of the Latin edition are held in Kraków and Warsaw, a copy each of the 1564 reprint of the Latin edition and of the 1563 reprint of the French edition is held in Wrocław.

For more details of the publication history of this work, see Rodolphe Peter and Jean-François Gilmont, *Bibliotheca Calviniana: Les œuvres de Jean Calvin publiées au XVI^e siècle*, 2 vols (Geneva 1991-1994).

54 S. Dobrzycki, op. cit., p. 55.

The basic argument can be reduced to the following logical statement: 'Since the translators of the Calvinist Bible undoubtedly made use of Calvin's translation and commentary on the Psalms, the presence of passages which bear a similarity to Calvin's work should be attributed to the Polish source.⁵⁵ Kochanowski is unlikely to have made much use of the Calvinist Bible because it does not contain a commentary, therefore it is possible to discount both the Polish source and Calvin's commentary.' However, this argument is flawed for, if Kochanowski did not make use of the Calvinist Bible, how then does one account for the presence of similarities to Calvin's commentary in *Psałterz Dawidów* — and Dobrzycki acknowledges similarities between the two works in five Psalms⁵⁶ — without reference to Calvin's work?

Dobrzycki insists that Kochanowski must have used an exegetical work in order fully to understand the biblical text. This is entirely probable. However, neither of the prose works cited by Dobrzycki conforms fully to this requirement. Describing the Pagninus-Vatable edition, he writes:

Tekst Pagnina jest tak skonstruowany, że zrozumienie już ułatwia: daje w nawiasie wyrazy, których nie ma w tekście hebrajskim, a których domaga się składnia języków nowożytnych, wyrazy, które myśl oryginału wyrażają jaśniej dla czytelnika nie specjalisty, [...] Wreszcie komentarz, bardzo obfity, nie pozostawiający miejsc niezrozumiałych i trudnych bez opowiedzi, i komentarz taki, jakiego Kochanowski przedewszystkiem pragnął.⁵⁷

while at the same time praising Campensis' translation as:

[P]sałterz zrozumiały dla wszystkich, nietylko dla księży i to uczonych, psalterz, podany nie w formie ciężkiego uczonego komentarza. Treść, jakiej żądano, i forma dogodna [...]⁵⁸

⁵⁵ This question of common sources is particularly problematical. It is apparent from Buchanan's translation that he made use of Pagninus' translation and Vatable's notes in a number of passages, while Calvin's commentary is virtually identical to Vatable's notes in some places.

⁵⁶ Dobrzycki, op. cit., note to p. 55. The five passages are: Psalm 2, line 20; Psalm 42, lines 13-16; Psalm 45, passim; Psalm 118, lines 57-58; Psalm 122, lines 3-4.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 57.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 62.

That is to say, Pagninus' translation would have appealed to Kochanowski because of Vatable's scholarly commentary to the text, while Campensis' translation would have appealed precisely because it lacked such a commentary.

There is no doubt that Kochanowski had access to a commentary, for a number of passages in *Psałterz Dawidów* cannot be explained by reference to the biblical text alone. However, while I have no doubt that he did make use of both the Pagninus-Vatable edition and Campensis' translation, it is my opinion that Dobrzycki has overlooked that work upon which Kochanowski relied most heavily for an exegesis of the Psalms, Calvin's *In librum Psalmorum commentarius*, a work in which the Hebrew text is provided alongside a Latin translation of the Hebrew, and an extensive commentary provided after every few verses.

This commentary contains a number of elements desirable for the translator:

[Calvin] wanted to set forth the plain sensible meaning of a passage; he wished to establish what the biblical words mean in their context. [...] In his expositions Calvin showed his method plainly, he did not conceal matters from his reader; he led them openly, from evidence he had adduced, to his interpretations.⁵⁹

Moreover, unlike many of his contemporaries,⁶⁰ Calvin makes comparatively few vituperative attacks on the interpretations given by the Catholics or Lutherans — a feature which may well have made his commentary more attractive to Kochanowski. Rather, Calvin's commentary is a scholarly examination of the meaning of the text, in which he frequently sets out the interpretation given to a passage by other translators or commentators, explaining his reasons for accepting or rejecting this alternative interpretation on the basis of the meaning of the words in their context. As a result, Calvin's expositions were well-received, and were certainly known in Poland.

⁵⁹ Basil Hall, "Biblical Scholarship: Editions and Commentaries", *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 3, ed. S. L. Greenslade (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 38-93 (pp. 87-88).

⁶⁰ For example, the commentary by Bartholomæus Westhmerus (*In Omnes Psalmos Davidis, Regis inclitiss[imi] atque divinissimi prophetæ Israelis, explicationes: cum ex ueteribus, tum recentioribus Patribus ueræ ac catholicæ Ecclesiæ, per Bartholomæum Vuesthemerum Phorzensem, summa diligentia ac studio collectæ* (Basle, 1566)) contains a strong defence of the Catholic interpretation of the biblical text, while Ioannis Bugenhagius' commentary (*Ioannis Pomerani Bugenhagii in librum Psalmorum interpretatio* (Basle, 1524)) contains a number of attacks on "papisti".

My reasons for this supposition — that Dobrzycki has overlooked the principal commentary which Kochanowski chose to use — are two-fold. Firstly, there are a number of passages in *Psałterz Dawidów* in which Kochanowski's rendering differs from all the prose translations identified by Dobrzycki and Pelc, and secondly Dobrzycki's claims that Vatable's notes to the text represent a 'substantial commentary in which no obscure passages are left unexplained' are simply not borne out. An analysis of these notes reveals that there are some passages for which no commentary is provided, and that it is only rarely that they run to more than a few lines. Certainly they are considerably less extensive than the exegesis provided by, for example, Bugenhagius, Westhmerus, or Calvin. Indeed, the publisher Robert Estienne, refers to Vatable's exegesis not as a commentary, but as "adnotationes" (notes).

It is the presence of a significant number of passages in which Kochanowski's rendering cannot be reconciled with those sources and models identified by previous scholarship that convinced me of the need to re-evaluate the question of sources. Taking as my starting-point a sample of Psalms (Psalms 1, 5, 15, 20, 22, 24, 29, 74, 78, 80), some of which were chosen because they contained elements which differed from the biblical text and others which were selected at random, I compared Kochanowski's rendering to all those sixteenth-century Latin, French and Italian texts⁶¹ — prose translations, verse translations, and commentaries, — published before 1579 which were available to me.⁶²

On the basis of these findings, I was able to select texts for further study. These translations and commentaries form the basic material for a line-by-line analysis of, and commentary to, Kochanowski's text, from which the data in chapter 6 are drawn.

⁶¹ These texts form a large corpus. While it is necessary to look at those Polish texts available to Kochanowski, time constraints have prevented their inclusion in the present study.

⁶² My research was conducted at the University of St. Andrews Library, the British Library, and the Bodleian Library. While the holdings of these libraries are extensive, they are not exhaustive, and there are a number of translations and commentaries which I have not been able to consult.

While it is not possible to identify the source of, or model for, Kochanowski's rendering in every instance,⁶³ I am able to say with some certainty that he used the following texts in the preparation of *Psałterz Dawidów*: Calvin's commentary, the Vulgate text, the prose translations by Campensis and Pagninus, and the verse translations by Buchanan, Hesus, Flaminus and Spinula.

These texts were not all used to the same degree, nor necessarily at the same time. This is particularly apparent with regard to the verse translations. Kochanowski made extensive use of Buchanan's translation throughout *Psałterz Dawidów*. Indeed, it is fair to say that this is his principal model for *imitatio*. However, the presence of only a handful of instances in which Kochanowski used the translations by Hesus, Flaminus and Spinula, together with his letter of 6 October 1571, suggests that the use of these models was restricted to the early period of his work on the Psalms (1566/7-1571).

In addition to these texts, we know of the existence of one further text, for which there has never been a proper identification. In the poem "Do Jego M. X. Arcybiskupa Gnieźnieńskiego", addressed to Jakub Uchański, Archbishop of Gniezno and Primate of Poland, Kochanowski writes:

Także ja tesknię, o Biskupie sławny,
Czekając twego Psałterza czas dawny.

While Dobrzycki does not attempt to identify this text, Pelc asserts that it was a polyglot Psalter:

Nie wiemy np. jakiego tekstu oczekiwał i dopraszał się w roku 1573 czy 1574 lub 1575 od Uchańskiego. Korzystał zapewne z jakiegoś wydania hebrajsko-grecko-łacińskiego; takim było np. bazylejskie "Psalterium trilingue" (1545).⁶⁴

⁶³ There are a great many passages in which it is apparent that Kochanowski has produced a free translation of the biblical text, but in which his rendering does not contain any features which are peculiar to one translation. In such cases it is not possible to determine the source of his rendering.

In addition, there are a few instances in which Kochanowski's rendering differs significantly from all the translations and commentaries available to me, and for which there is no obvious justification. Perhaps the clearest example of this is in Psalm 22, lines 33-34 ("Wilcy mię zewsząd srodzy otoczyli, / Zewsząd mię wilcy zawarli otyli."), in which Kochanowski refers to wolves rather than to bulls, specifically the bulls of Bashan, as in the biblical text.

⁶⁴ J. Pelc, op. cit., p. 409.

This is indeed possible. However, there is little in this translation which cannot be found in other literal translations of the Psalms. While my research has failed to provide a positive identification for this work, it is possible to make certain assumptions.

Jakub Uchański was known to own a large number of books obtained from the Protestant publishing centres of Europe. Indeed, J. Tazbir suggests that he even corresponded with a number of the leading figures of the Reformation, including Calvin and Bullinger.⁶⁵ Thus it is likely that the Psalter requested from Uchański was a Protestant Latin prose translation of the Psalms published in western Europe. It is also possible that this work was, or contained in addition to a Latin translation of the Hebrew text, a commentary — perhaps even Calvin's *In librum Psalmorum commentarius*. However, it has not been possible to identify this work. Indeed, it is not even certain that Kochanowski obtained this work or that, even having obtained it, he actually made use of it.

The main obstacle to the identification of this work is the lack of information concerning the way in which Kochanowski obtained his sources and models. Ideally it would be possible to look through a catalogue of the books which he owned and compare it with similar catalogues of those owned by Uchański, Myszkowski, and others. However, no such inventory exists. Thus it is not certain whether Kochanowski owned the books which he used as sources or models for *Psałterz Dawidów*, or whether he merely borrowed them.

It is probable that he owned a copy of Buchanan's *Paraphrasis Psalmorum*, for this is his principal model, and evidence of its use can be seen throughout *Psałterz Dawidów*. However, Kochanowski's use of the remaining sources is less consistent. Rather, there are a significant number of Psalms in which these works are not used. Thus it is possible that the poet had access to these works at certain times but not at others, suggesting that he borrowed these texts or else consulted them while visiting friends.

Prior to his retirement as royal secretary in the early 1570s Kochanowski travelled extensively in Poland-Lithuania:

⁶⁵ J. Tazbir, *A State without Stakes*, p. 4: "Uchański w tych latach nie jest już tym człowiekiem, który w r. 1559 groził Rzymowi pismem, [...]; nie koresponduje już z Kalwinem i Bullingerem [...]"

Jeździł z Sycyny do Krakowa, a Krakowa do Wilna, do Gdańska (co nie jest w pełni pewne) i Królewca. Bywał w Lublinie i, być może, w Poznaniu. Możliwe, że "zawadził" o Tykocin, Kazimierz Dolny nad Wisłą, Szydłowiec i wiele innych miejscowości.⁶⁶

Lichański⁶⁷ indicates that, on a number of these trips, Kochanowski visited friends, and it is known that his circle of friends included a number of leading Calvinists. However, he also adduces some evidence to suggest that Kochanowski did go to Tykocin,⁶⁸ although it is not certain whether he visited his friend Łukasz Górnicki or the castle in which Zygmunt Augustus' library was housed.

Here too, we are hampered by a lack of information. Without being able to say for certain whom Kochanowski visited and when, and without an inventory of their libraries,⁶⁹ it is not possible to make any definite conclusions about the owners of the texts which Kochanowski used: all that can be said is that the text of *Psałterz Dawidów* reveals that, in addition to the Vulgate text, he used Calvin's commentary, the prose translations by Campensis and Pagninus, and the verse translations by Buchanan, Hesus, and Flaminius and Spinula.

66 Jakub Lichański, *Szlakami Jana Kochanowskiego* (Warsaw, 1985), p. 29.

67 Ibid., pp. 29-42.

68 Ibid., p. 29.

69 While Kazimierz Hartleb does provide some information concerning the contents of Zygmunt Augustus' library (K. Hartleb, *Biblioteka Zygmunta Augustusa. Studium z dziejów kultury królewskiego dworu* (Lwów, 1928)), the details which he cites are too vague (e.g. "Kniha czestia psaltery", or "Psałterz z wykładaniem") to allow a positive identification of many of the works.

Chapter 6: Data and Analysis

6.1: Introductory remarks

The following data provide the evidence to support the contentions made in the previous chapter. However, as noted earlier, my analysis of Kochanowski's sources is limited to western European texts and specifically to those written in Latin, French and Italian. Nor have I been able to consult every text written in those languages. Thus these findings should not be regarded as providing a definitive answer to the question of Kochanowski's sources, since the inclusion of Polish texts might change the picture somewhat. This is particularly true with regard to Calvin's commentary and Campensis' translation, both of which have a Polish equivalent, the Calvinist Bible (1563) and Mikołaj Rej's translation.

While a cursory examination of the Polish Calvinist Bible justifies the inclusion of Calvin's commentary in favour of, or at least in addition to, the Polish text,¹ it should nonetheless be borne in mind that some of the passages attributed in this chapter to the influence of Calvin or Campensis might in fact derive from the Polish Calvinist Bible or from Rej's translation. Indeed, there are several passages² which are not cited in the following list but which bear some similarity to the French edition of Calvin's commentary,³ which, while ostensibly a translation of the earlier Latin edition (1557), does contain some significant changes. It seems likely that these entered Kochanowski's translation via the Polish Calvinist Bible on which two Frenchmen attached to the school at Pińczów are known to have collaborated.⁴

¹ This is particularly apparent in Psalm 1, line 20, where reference is made to God's vengeance ("A przewrotne złe ludzi cicha pomsta goni"). This reference occurs in only two other places, the first of which is Calvin's commentary, and the second is the commentary by Adamus Siberus (*Adami Siberi in Davidis Isai F. Prophetæ et Regis Hebræorum Psalterium. Commentariorum scholasticorum Libri Quinque* (Wittenberg, 1580)), a work for which I can find no edition prior to 1580, which means that Kochanowski could not have used it.

² For example, the comparison of the sun to a giant running a race in order to carry off the prize in Psalm 19, line 24 ("Gdzie dar zwycięzcy obiecany leży"), and the references to the diligent examination of God's works and the resultant delight in Psalm 111, lines 3-4 ("[...] wielką czuje / Rozkosz, kto sie im pilnie przypatruje").

³ There are several French editions of Calvin's work on the Psalms. The first of these, *Le livre des Pseaumes* (Geneva, 1558) appears to have lacked a commentary, while the second, *Le Psaultier declaré par annotations extraite des commentaires de Calvin* (Geneva, 1558), contained notes taken from Calvin's commentary. The first French edition of his commentary (*Commentaires due le livre des Pseaumes*) was published in Geneva in 1561.

⁴ D. Frick, *Polish sacred Philology in the Reformation and Counter-Reformation* (University of California Press, 1989), p. 68: "On 15 April 1556, Lismanino wrote to Calvin asking him to send the Frenchman Petrus Statorius, the future author of the first Polish grammar; Statorius began teaching in Pińczów in the fall. In 1558 a colleague of Statorius, Jean Thénaud, came to teach at the school."

There is also the possibility of a degree of error within some of the other works cited, for Buchanan attended Vatable's lectures while in Paris, and there are a number of passages in which his rendering bears a similarity, either in terms of the details cited or the interpretation of a passage, to the notes adapted from these lectures and appended by Estienne to Pagninus' translation. Similarly, there are passages where Buchanan, who abandoned the Catholic faith on his return to Scotland⁵ and became a follower of John Knox, himself a student of Calvin, translates the text in a manner approaching the interpretation given by Calvin in his commentary.

My data on the origins of Kochanowski's translation have been divided into five sections which follow the book divisions of the Hebrew text (Psalms 1-41, 42-72, 73-89, 90-106, 107-150) and, within these sections, have been broken down according to type (e.g. prose translation, commentary, verse translation) and author. While this makes the material more manageable, it does make it difficult to get a clear picture of the composition of each Psalm, as, for example, the sources and models for Psalm 50 are found in three different places (under the sections for Calvin's commentary, Estienne's notes,⁶ and Buchanan's verse translation), while those for Psalm 18 are found in six different places. This fault is rectified in the analysis section which follows each book,⁷ where a table is provided to show how Kochanowski has made use of his sources in each of the Psalms in that book.

⁵ Rev. T. Lindsay, "Buchanan and Continental Thought", *George Buchanan: A Memorial 1506-1906* (St. Andrews, 1907), pp. 25-34 (p. 34): "Despite Henry II's repressive measures, which added to those introduced in the final years of Francis I's reign and were aimed at crushing the Reformation [...], Buchanan resolved to adhere to the Reformation. Returning to Scotland in 1561, he joined the Reformed Church." This is corroborated by Rev. Professor H. Reid, "Knox and Buchanan: A Study in Method", *ibid.*, pp. 91-95 (p. 94): "[...] Buchanan had very early satisfied himself that the position of Rome was untenable: he had attacked the vices of the monks; and by the time he finally returned home from the Continent, he had made a prolonged study of the points at issue between the Roman Church and the Reformers. His decision was in favour of the latter [...]"

⁶ While the notes which accompany Pagninus' translation are ascribed to Vatable, they were not written by him for this purpose. Rather they were collected together from his lectures and other writings by the publisher Robert Estienne (Stephanus). For this reason I refer to them here not as Vatable's commentary but as notes by Estienne.

⁷ Since Books 4 and 5 contain similar features, I have dealt with both books together. Therefore, the analysis section for Book 4 can be found after the data for Book 5.

In addition, there are a number of passages which are omitted from the following lists and tables of data.⁸ In these instances it has not been possible to determine the source of, or model for, Kochanowski's rendering. Such instances occur for one of three reasons. Firstly, there are those passages in which Kochanowski's rendering agrees with both the Hebrew and the Vulgate text. In these instances the language of the Vulgate text and the Latin translations of the Hebrew is too similar for it to be possible to identify the version of the biblical text which Kochanowski used.

Secondly, there are those passages in which Kochanowski has provided a free translation of the biblical text, but where he has rendered the text in such a way that it is not possible to determine upon which text he has based his version. This is the most numerous category owing to the very nature of *Psałterz Dawidów*: Kochanowski was content to convey the sense of the text without feeling the need to account for every word, even if this were possible given the constraints placed upon him by the verse medium.

Finally, there are those passages where Kochanowski has made a change to the biblical text for which there is no apparent justification in any of the texts which I have consulted.⁹

However, this does not alter the fact that there are a great many passages where the source of Kochanowski's rendering is plainly discernible.

⁸ The second and third categories (i.e. those where Kochanowski's changes to the text prevent any identification of his source) account, between them, for 196 passages in Book 1, 293 in Book 2, 236 in Book 3, 214 in Book 4, and 337 in Book 5, a total of 1276 passages. These passages vary in length between one line, or part thereof, and one or more stanzas. However, it is quite apparent from these figures that there are more lines in which it is not possible to identify the source of Kochanowski's translation than those in which the source or model is clearly identifiable.

⁹ The most obvious example of this occurs in Psalm 22 (21 according to the Vulgate numbering system). In verse 13 of this Psalm the Psalmist states that he has been surrounded by bulls (cf. Vulgate: "Circundederunt me tauri validi: tauri Basan obsederunt me"), by which he is thought to mean prominent members of the Jewish laity and clergy (Franciscus Titelmannus, *Elucidatio in omnes Psalmos* (Antwerp, 1573) understands "tauri" as denoting "scribæ, pharisæi, & seniores populi", while Lucretius Tyroboscus, *Expositio in omnes Psalmos* (Venice, 1572) interprets this reference as "sine iugo gentium populi (multi: tauri) præterea (pingues), idest principes sacerdotum in malitia, & bonis Ecclesiæ [...]"). However, Kochanowski refers not to bulls, nor to Pharisees, but to wolves (lines 33-34: "Wilcy mię zewsząd srodzy otoczyli, / Zewsząd mię wilcy zawarli otyli:").

An analysis of the following lists of data and statistical tables reveals that there are a number of Psalms in which there is only a single instance of coincidence between Kochanowski's rendering and a given source. Such passages are problematical. It is not possible in these cases to be entirely certain that this similarity is intentional, coincidental (Kochanowski might, for example, have remembered an appropriate word or phrase from a text which he did not necessarily have in front of him at the time),¹⁰ or the result of later re-editing. However, those Psalms in which Kochanowski has relied heavily on his sources provide sufficient evidence to be able to identify those texts which he used in the preparation of his translation. These passages allow certain conclusions to be made about Kochanowski's use of sources and his method of composition.

¹⁰ Indeed, the large number of classical references in Kochanowski's letter to Fogelweder of 6 October, 1571, suggests that he, in keeping with humanist teaching, made use of a note-book, in which he recorded well-turned phrases, rhetorical devices, etc. by which he had been impressed while reading. Such expressions could then be retrieved for use at a later date.

6.2: Book 1

I. Prose Translations.

(a) Calvin.

- 1 Psalm IX, 21-24: Zły Człowiecze, spustoszyłeś
 Pola nieprzerodzone:
 Zwojowałeś, wywróciłeś
Miasta pięknie sadzone.¹
- Calvin, v. 7: Inimice, finitæ sunt vastitates in seculum, & vrbes
destruxisti [...]
- Vulgate, v. 7: Inimici defecerunt frameæ in finem, & ciuitates eorum
 destruxisti.
- 2 Psalm X, 17-18: Nieprzyjaciela swego, szczęściem pijany,
Dmuchienniem chce porazić,²
- Calvin, v. 5: Prosperantur viæ eius omni tempore [...] in omnes
 inimicos suos sufflat.
- Vulgate IX, 25-26: [...] inquinatæ sunt viæ illius in omni tempore. [...] omnium inimicorum suorum dominabitur.
- 3 Psalm XVIII, 17: Dym sie kurzył z nosa Jego, [...]
- Calvin, v. 9: Ascendit fumus in nares eius, [...]
- Vulgate XVII, v. 9: Ascendit fumus in ira eius, [...]
- 4 Psalm XVIII, 54: A hardego niepoczesnie na dół sprowadzasz:³
- Calvin, v. 28: [...] & oculos superbos deiciēs.
- Vulgate XVII, v. 28: [...] & oculos superborum humiliabis.

¹ While the use of apostrophe and the reference to destroying foreign cities are common to all translations of the Hebrew text, the reference to laying waste their lands is peculiar to Calvin's translation (cf. Campensis: "O inimice finem habent populationes tuæ. neque posthac amplius tibi vnquam dabint populandi potestas: ciuitatulas certe aliquot sic subuertisti [...]" ; Pagninus: "Inimice, finitæ sunt solitudines in seculum: & ipsarum vrbium quas destruxisti [...]"). It is apparent, however, that, although Kochanowski has based his rendering on the Calvin's translation, he is following the verse divisions as they appear in the Vulgate.

² While the reference to God destroying His enemies with His breath also occurs in Pagninus' translation, the reference to the prosperous condition of these enemies is peculiar to Calvin's translation.

³ Kochanowski's reliance upon Calvin is more apparent if one considers his commentary to this passage, where the reference to eyes is omitted and comparison made to Samuel, Book 2, where this song appears, though with some changes ("In secundo membro diuersa est lectio Cantici: vbi habetur, Oculi tui contra superbos ad deiciendum. Sed hæc varietas in sensu nihil mutat: nisi quod illic superbis Spiritus sanctus magis aperte denuntiat, quum ad ipsos euertendos aduigilet Deus, non posse ruinam effugere").

- 5 Psalm XVIII, 81-82: Startem je, jako proch wiatry trą ustawiczne:
Wdeptałem je, równie jako błoto uliczne.
- Calvin, v. 43: Et comminuam eoa tanquam puluerem a facie venti:
velut lutum platearum calcabo eos.
- Vulgate XVII, v. 43: Et comminuam eos vt puluerem ante faciem venti, vt
lutum platearum delebo eos.
- 6 Psalm XXI, 9-10: O zdrowie prosił, a Tys dni jego przedłużył,
Aby nieprzeżytego wieku wiecznie użył.
- Calvin, v. 5: Vitam petiit abs te, dedisti ei protractionem dierum in
seculum & semper.
- Vulgate XX, v. 4: Vitam petiit a te & tribuisti ei, longitudinem dierum in
seculum & in seculum seculi.
- 7 Psalm XXVI, 10: W drogę nie pójdę z niepobożnemi,
- Calvin, v. 4: [...] & cum versutis non ingrediar.
- Vulgate XXV, v. 4: [...] & cum iniqua gerentibus non introibo.
- 8 Psalm XXXII, 23: Ty w uściech moich wzbudisz wdzięczne pienie,
- Calvin, v. 7: [...] canticis liberationis circundabis me. Selah.
- Vulgate XXXI, v. 7: [...] exultatio mea, erue me e circulantibus me.
- 9 Psalm XXXII, 31-32: I potrzebują muśztuku, i wódze,
Aby je człowiek miał po woli w drodze.⁴
- Calvin, v. 9: [...] capistro & fræno maxillam eius constringes, ne
calcitent contra te.
- Vulgate XXXI, v. 9: In chamo & fræno maxillas eorum constringe, qui non
approximant ad te.
- 10 Psalm XXXII, 35-36: Przeto, w nadzieję Pańską, używajcie
Wesela, dobrzy, i wdzięcznie śpiewajcie.
- Calvin, v. 11: Lætamini in Iehoua, & exultate iusti, cantate omnes
recti corde.
- Vulgate XXXI, v. 11: Lætamini in domino & exultate iusti, & gloriamini
omnes recti corde.

⁴ This appears to be a free translation of Calvin's rendering, where it is said that horses and mules must be bridled if they are to be prevented from disobeying their master.

- 11 Psalm XXXIII, 17-18: Bo jedno słowo wyrzekł, tak wszystko stało,
Co kazał, wszystko wnet skutek wzięło.⁵
- Calvin, v. 9: Quoniam ipse dixit, & fuit: ipse mandavit. & stetit.
- Vulgate XXXII, v. 9: Quoniam ipse dixit & facta sunt, ipse mandavit & creata sunt.
- 12 Psalm XXXIV, 5: Panem sie ja chłubię: [...] ⁶
- Calvin, v. 3: In Iehoua gloriabitur anima mea, [...]
- Vulgate XXXIII, v. 2: In domino laudabitur anima mea, [...]
- 13 Psalm XXXVIII, 13: Wszystki we mnie wnętrzości gorają, [...]
- Calvin, v. 8: Quoniam renes mei impleti sunt combustione, [...]
- Vulgate XXXVII, v. 7: Quoniam lumbi mei impleti sunt illusionibus, [...]
- 14 Psalm XXXIX, 29: Czegoż czekać, o mój Boże?
- Calvin, v. 8: Et nunc quid expecto Domine: [...]
- Vulgate XXXVIII, v. 7: Et nunc quæ est expectatio mea, nonne dominus?
- 15 Psalm XXXIX, 45-47: Kogo prze grzech zafrasujesz,
Tak go niewiedomie psujesz,
Jako szatę mól tajemny:
- Calvin, v. 12: In correptionibus propter iniquitatem castigas virum, & tabescere facis quasi tinea præstantiam eius: [...]
- Vulgate XXXVIII, 10-11: [...] propter iniquitatem corripuisti hominem.
Et tabescere fecisti sicut araneam animam eius, [...]

(b) Campensis.

- 1 Psalm X, 34-36: [...] prze Bóg, długo li
Zły człowiek ma doświadczać Twey cierpliwości?
Mówiąc, nie ma Bóg w myśli niczych złości.⁷
- Campensis, v. 13: Qua patientia ferre potes impium in te tam manifeste blasphemum vt dicere audeat, non esse Deum, qui curaturus sit hæc?

⁵ Kochanowski has reversed the order in which these two details occur.

⁶ Although Campensis has something similar ("In laudando domino occupata erit anima mea"), nonetheless, Kochanowski's rendering is closer to Calvin's translation of the Hebrew text.

⁷ While all the Latin translations of the Hebrew text have something similar, Kochanowski's manner of expression is closest to Campensis' paraphrase.

- 2 Psalm XVII, 27-28: Abych w nadzieję Twojej opieki,
Mógł się złych ludzi nie bać na wieki:
Campensis, v. 9: Et libera me a metu impiorum [....]
- 3 Psalm XVII, 29-30: Ludzi rozkosznych, którzy tak styli,
Ze ledwie brzucha zniosą po chwili:
Campensis, v. 10: Qui tam sunt pasti bene, & obesi, vt aruina obstructa
videantur ora illorum [....]
- 4 Psalm XVIII, 37-40: Zbieżeli mię nagle byli w przygodzie mojej,
Ale mię Pan wnet ratował z litości swojej.
Wywiódł mię z ciasnego miejsca na płac przestrony:
Wybawił mię, bom u Niego nie jest wzgardzony.
Campensis, vv. 18-19: Callidis suis consiliis circumvenire incautum
conabantur me tempore afflictionis meæ, sed Dominus
tempestive adfuit mihi adiutor.
Et eduxit me ex angustiis in locum spaciosissimum,
quia amavit me.
- 5 Psalm XVIII, 67-68: Nauczył mię bronią władać: nieprzelomiony
Łuk żelazny pod moimi skoczył ramiony.
Campensis, v. 34: Docuit manus meas armas tractare, sicut frangere
potuerim brachijs meis arcum etiam ferreum.⁸
- 6 Psalm XXI, 18: Twoja ręka Tve wszystkie przeciwniki zgoni.
Campensis, v. 8: Assequetur manus tua, o rex, vniuersos inimicos tuos,
[....]
- 7 Psalm XXI, 21-22: [...] a ich plemię, Panie,
Tak wygładzisz, że ani pamiątka zostanie.⁹
Campensis, v. 10: Fructum omnem eorum sic e terra euellēs, vt nihil
remaneat seminis eorum inter homines.
- 8 Psalm XXII, 36: Jako lew srogi, zwierzę łupiąc żywe.¹⁰
Campensis, v. 13: [...] non aliter quam leo, inhians præde, [....]

⁸ While other Latin translations from the Hebrew contain something similar, Kochanowski's version is closest to Campensis' rendering.

⁹ While Kochanowski's translation does not match up exactly with Campensis' rendering, nonetheless, the two versions are sufficiently similar (they both stress that nothing will remain of the ungodly) for us to suppose that Kochanowski based his rendering on Campensis.

¹⁰ This is an expansion on the biblical text, for both the Vulgate text and Latin translations of the Hebrew text have "sicut leo rapiens & rugiens." Although there is no precedent for omitting the second of the two verbs present in the biblical text, the fact that Kochanowski has provided an object for the first of verbs might indicate that he is following Campensis' translation.

- 9 Psalm XXII, 79-80: Owa ktokolwiek winien ciało w ziemię,
Da chwałę Panu: [...]
- Campensis, v. 29: [...] & in venerationem illius genua flectent, etiam
mortui omnes in terra sepulti, [...]
- 10 Psalm XXIII, 9: By dobrze stała śmierć tuż przede mną,
- Campensis, v. 4: Etiam si eundum mihi sit per vallem tam opacam, vt
vmbra illius vndique mortem minitetur,
- 11 Psalm XXIV, 14-16: Król wieczny sie przybliża, król niewystłowny.
Który niewystłowny, który to król wieczny?
Pan mocny, i szerokiej władze, Pan waleczny.
- Campensis, vv. 7-8: [...] ingressurus est enim per vos inclutus ille rex.
Quisnam est rex ille inclutus? dominus fortis et potens,
dominus valens in praelio.
- 12 Psalm XXIV, 18-19: Król wieczny sie przybliża, król niewystłowny.
Który niewystłowny, który to król wieczny?
- Campensis, vv. 9-10: [...] ingressurus est enim per vos rex ille inclutus.
Quis hic est inclutus ille rex? [...]
- 13 Psalm XXXI, 23-24: Wzrokiem stracił od płaczu, serce mi struchlało,
Młodość przed czasem zbiegła, sił w kościach nie
zstało.
- Campensis, vv. 9-10: [...] corrosus est præ mærore oculus meus, anima mea
et venter meus.
Consumpta enim est mæstitia bona pars vitæ meæ, [...]
- 14 Psalm XXXIV, 45: Złego złość pobije, [...]¹¹
- Campensis, v. 22: Occidet impium ipsa impietas, [...]
- Vulgate XXXIII, v. 22: Mors peccatorum pessima: [...]
- 15 Psalm XXXVI, 4: Za co Boża, i ludzką nienawiść zyskuje.¹²
- Campensis, v. 2: [...] quare ostenditur deus, vt ipsum tum sceleribus
suis deprehensum, odio persecuturus sit perpetuo.

¹¹ While we find something similar in all translations of the Hebrew text, Kochanowski's choice of lexis ("Złego złość") suggests that he derived this rendering from Campensis' translation ("impium ... impietas").

¹² While Calvin's commentary refers to man's hatred, and other versions refer to hatred in general, only Campensis mentions God's hatred of impiety.

- 16 Psalm XXXVI, 19-20: U Ciebie źródł żywota: Ty nasze ciemności
Roświecisz, a wnet ujrzem dzień prawej światłości.¹³
- Campensis, v. 9: Apud te enim fons est vitæ perennis, vbi illuminati
fuerimus lumine tuo, a tenebris liberi erimus perpetuo.
- 17 Psalm XXXVII, 13-14: Jasna jest zorza, jasno słońce pała,
Tak będzie i twa cnota okazała.
- Campensis, v. 6: Et faciet vt tam sit conspicua iustitia tua, quam est
lumen solis, [....]
- 18 Psalm XXXVII, 15-16: Tylko bądź skromny, a w swej doległości
Czekaj cierpliwie do Pańskiej litości.
- Campensis, v. 7: Patienter expecta dominum, et fer æquo animo, si quid
ab illo tibi immittatur aduersi, neque contristeris, [....]¹⁴
- 19 Psalm XXXVII, 26: I żyć w pokoju wszystek swój wiek będą.
- Campensis, v. 11: [...] et tranquillissime viuent, nacti pacem,
- 20 Psalm XXXVII, 41: Pan ma na pieczy skromne, i stateczne,
- Campensis, v. 18: Nouit dominus dies iustoru., et curæ sunt illi, [...]
- 21 Psalm XXXVII, 89-90: Przypatrz sie rzeczom ludzi bogobojnych,
Ze lat na koniec użyja spokojnych,
- Campensis, v. 37: [...] et specta semper id quod rectum est: eum enim qui
talis est, pax manet perpetua.
- 22 Psalm XXXVII, 93-94: Bezpieczność swoją, i stałość w trudności
Cnotliwi Pańskiej powinni litości:
- Campensis, v. 39: Salus proueniet iustis a domino, fortitudo eorum ipse
erit tempore afflictionis.
- 23 Psalm XXXVIII, 5: Zdrowia nie masz w mym ciele prze strach gniewu Twego,
- Campensis, v. 3: Nihil integrum est in toto corpore meo, præ metu quem
de te concepi irato: [....]
- 24 Psalm XXXVIII, 19: Trwoga serce me zjęła, gasną we mnie siły,
- Campensis, v. 10: Cor meum palpitat intra me, destituit me robur meum: [....]

¹³ Like Campensis, Kochanowski refers both to the light of God, and also to the fact that this light will dispel darkness.

¹⁴ While Kochanowski's exhortation in line 16 is clearly a translation of "Patienter expecta dominum", the imperative in line 15 "bądź skromny" is rather closer to Calvin's commentary.

- 25 Psalm XXXIX, 12: Aż sie słowo rzec musiało.
Campensis, v. 3: [...] qui erumpere cogeret me in vocem hanc.
- 26 Psalm XL, 30: Sławiłem prawdę, i Twe litości.
Campensis, v. 11: [...] quam sis benignus, [...]
- 27 Psalm XLI, 1: Szczęśliwy, który ludzi upadłych ratuje.
Campensis, v. 1: Felix ille, qui non aspernatur afflictum, [...]
- 28 Psalm XLI, 19: I podawał mię ludziom: o mym złym szeptali,
Campensis, v. 6: [...] linguam aduersum me suo more exacuebat.
- (c) Pagninus.
- 1 Psalm XXVII, 43-44: Widzę świadki nieprawdziwe,
Słyszę na si[ę] kłamstwo żywe.
Pagninus, v. 12: [...] quoniam surrexerunt in me testes mendaces, & loquens iniquitatem.
- 2 Psalm XXXIII, 25-26: Pan tylko z nieba pojrzy na ziemskie niziny,
A wszystkie ludzkie ogłada syny.
Pagninus, v. 13: E cælis respicit Iehouah, videt omnes filios hominum:¹⁵
- 3 Psalm XXXIV, 11-12: Weń patrzcie, będziecie prawie roświeceni,
A być nie możecie nigdy zawstydzeni.¹⁶
Pagninus XXXIV, 5-6: Aspicient ad eum, & illuminabuntur, & facies eorum non afficientur pudore.
- 4 Psalm XXXVII, 61-62: Każdy dzień ludziom upadłym użycza
Ubostwa swego: drugiego pożyczca,
Pagninus, v. 26: Quotidie donat, & mutuum dat, [...]
- 5 Psalm XLI, 34: I przed oczyma swemi na wieki postawił.
Pagninus, 13: [...] & statuisti me coram te semper.

¹⁵ Kochanowski's choice of tense agrees with Pagninus' translation rather than with the Vulgate or other translations from the Hebrew.

¹⁶ While Kochanowski appears to follow the Vulgate text in rendering the first verb in the imperative and using the second person plural pronoun throughout this passage, nonetheless, the substance of what is said in these lines is closer to Pagninus' translation than to the Vulgate text ("Accedite ad eum & illuminamini, & facies vestrae non confundentur").

(d) Vulgate.

- 1 Psalm II, 17-18: Jam jest, mój Boże, król ten, który Tobie
Tak sie spodobał: [...]
- Vulgate, v. 6: Ego autem constitutus sum Rex ab eo super Sion
montem sanctum eius [...]
- Calvin, v. 6: Ego vero unxi Regem meum super Sion montem
sanctum meum.
- 2 Psalm V, 1-2: Przypuść, Panie, w uszy swoje,
Słowa i wołanie moje:
- Vulgate, v. 1: Verba mea auribus percipe domine, intellige clamorem
meum.
- Calvin, v. 2: Verba mea ausculta Iehoua, intellige sermonem meum.
- 3 Psalm V, 13-16: Próżno zły ma tuszyć sobie,
Aby miał zmieszkać przy Tobie:
Niesprawiedliwy nie stanie
Przed oczyma twemi, Panie.
- Vulgate, v. 5: Neque habitabit iuxta te malignus, neque permanebunt
iniusti ante oculos tuos.
- Calvin, vv. 5-6: [...] non habitabit tecum malum.
Non stabunt insani coram oculis tuis: [...]
- 4 Psalm V, 39: Odrzuć je wiecznie od siebie,
- Vulgate, v. 11: [...] secundum multitudinem impietatum eorum expelle
eos, [...]
- Calvin, v. 11: [...] in multitudine scelerum suorum disperde eos: [...]
- 5 Psalm VI, 12-13: Na każdą noc umyję łzami swoje łóże.
Pościel płaczem napoję: [...]
- Vulgate, v. 7: [...] lauabo per singulas noctes lectum meum,
lachrymis meis stratum meum rigabo.
- Calvin, v. 7: [...] natare faciam per singulas noctes lectum meum:
lachrymis meis culcitram meam madefaciam.
- 6 Psalm VIII, 10: Z ust niemowlątek roście chwała Tobie,
- Vulgate, v. 3: Ex ore infantium & lactentium perfecisti laudem, [...]
- Calvin, v. 3: Ex ore infantium & lactentium fundasti robur [...]

- 7 Psalm IX, 37-38: Wszyscy, którzy Go poznali,
Jemu niechaj ufają:
Vulgate, v. 11: Et sperent in te qui nouerunt nomen tuum, [....]
Calvin, v. 11: Et sperabunt in te qui cognoscunt nomen tuum: [....]
- 8 Psalm IX, 63-64: W tym sie sidle połowili,
Które sami stawiali.
Vulgate, v. 16: In laqueo isto quem absconderunt, comprehensus est pes eorum.
Calvin, v. 16: [...] in rete quod absconderunt, captus est pes eorum.
- 9 Psalm XVII, 11-12: Doświadczyłeś mię, by w ogniu złota,
A nie nalazłeś, jedno co cnota.
Vulgate XVI, 3: [...] igne me examinasti, & non inuenta in me iniquitas.
Calvin XVII, v. 3: [...] examinasti, non inuenies [....]
Pagninus XVII, v. 3: [...] conflasti me, non inuenisti *in me iniquitatem*.¹⁷
- 10 Psalm XVIII, 51: Świetemu Ty święty będziesz, [...] Cum sancto sanctus eris, [....]
Vulgate XVII, v. 26: Cum sancto sanctus eris, [....]
Calvin XVIII, v. 26: Cum mansueto mansuete ages, [....]
- 11 Psalm XVIII, 61-62: Kto Pani jest, krom Pana tego? Pana wiecznego,
Kto bóg jest, krom Boga tego? Boga naszego.
Vulgate XVII, v. 32: Quoniam quis deus præter dominum, aut quis deus præter deum nostrum?
Calvin XVIII, v. 32: Quoniam quis Deus præter Iehouam? & quis fortis præter Deum nostrum?
- 12 Psalm XXI, 8: Włożyłeś nań korone z kamienia drogiego.¹⁸
Vulgate XX, v. 3: [...] posuisti in capite eius coronam de lapide precioso.
Calvin XXI, v. 4: [...] impones capiti eius coronam auream.

¹⁷ It is possible that Kochanowski based his rendering in these lines on Pagninus' translation rather than the Vulgate text, for these two versions are very similar.

¹⁸ While Kochanowski is probably following the Vulgate text, Buchanan provides a similar paraphrase of this verse (lines 11-14: "Et vota supra & ante vota hunc omnibus / Vitæ beasti commodis: / Gemmis coronam ferre & auro splendidam / Sacro dedisti vertici").

- 13 Psalm XXII, 45-46: Zaskoczyła mię wściekłych psów grómadą,
Obegnała mię niecnociwa rada.
- Vulgate XXI, v. 16: Quoniam circundederunt me canes multi, concilium
malignantium obsedit me.
- Calvin XXII, v. 17: Quia circundederunt me canes, coetus malignantium
circundederunt me: [...]
- 14 Psalm XXII, 63-65: Bo Ten nie gardzi prośbą ubogiego
Ani przede mną skrył oblicza swego.
Usłyszał płacz mój, gdym ratunku prosił:
- Vulgate XXI, vv. 23-24: [...] quoniam non spreuit, neque despexit
deprecationem pauperis.
Neque auertit faciem suam a me, & cum clamarem ad
eum exaudiuit me.
- Calvin XXII, v. 25: Quia non spreuit, neque aduersatus est pauperem,
neque abscondit faciem suam ab eo: & quum clamaret
ad eum, audiuit.
- 15 Psalm XXII, 71-72: Dadzą cz[e]ść Panu, którzy Go szukają.
Ich serca w cale wieczny wiek przetrwają.
- Vulgate XXI, v. 26: [...] laudabunt dominum qui requirunt eum, viuent
corda eorum in seculum seculi.
- Calvin XXII, v. 27: [...] laudabunt Iehouam qui quærunt eum, viuet cor
vestrum perpetuo.
- 16 Psalm XXIII, 1-3: Mój wiekuisty pasterz mię pasie,
Nie zejdzie mi nic na żadnym wczasie:
Zawiódł mię w pasze niepospolite,¹⁹
- Vulgate XXII, vv. 1-2: Dominus regit me [marginal note: Hebræi dicunt:
Dominus pascit me], & nihil mihi deerit, in loco
pascuæ ibi me collocauit.
- Calvin XXIII, vv. 1-2: Iehoua pastor meus, non destituar.
In pascuis herbosis accubare me facit: [...]
- 17 Psalm XXIII, 16: Czasza opływa w rozkosznym winie.²⁰
- Vulgate XXII, v. 5: [...] & calix meus inebrians quam præclarus est.
- Calvin XXIII, v. 5: [...] calix meus exuberans.

¹⁹ While Kochanowski's stanza break coincides with the verse divisions in the Hebrew text, it seems probable from the manner of expression that he based his rendering on the Vulgate text. In particular he states that the Psalmist was led into pastures rather than made to lie down in them. It is apparent, however, that the poet has allowed himself a degree of poetic licence in these lines, and his rendering does not fully agree with any one translation.

²⁰ While the reference to the Psalmist's cup overflowing derives from the Hebrew text, the fact that Kochanowski specifically states that the cup was full of wine clearly indicates that he is following the Vulgate text in line 16.

- 18 Psalm XXIV, 9-10: Taki błogosławieństwo od Pana odnosi,
I ma łaskawe ucho, o cokolwiek prosi.
- Vulgate XXIII, v. 5: Hic accipiet benedictionem a domino, & miseri cordiam
a deo salutari suo.
- Calvin XXIV, v. 5: Accipiet benedictionem a Iehoua, & iustitiam a Deo
salutis suae.
- 19 Psalm XXV, 3-4: Za co niech wstydu, i żalosnych, proszę,
Nieprzyjacielskich śmiechów nie odnoszę.
- Vulgate XXIV, vv. 1-2: [...] deus meus in te confido, non erubescam.
Neque irrideant me inimici mei [...].
- Calvin XXV, v. 2: Deus mi, in te speraui: ne pudefiam, ne latentur inimici
mei de me.
- 20 Psalm XXV, 20: Drógi objawi swoje pokornemu.²¹
- Vulgate XXIV, v. 9: [...] docebit mites vias suas.
- Calvin XXV, v. 9: [...] docebit pauperes viam suam.
- 21 Psalm XXVIII, 19: Przeto je zniszczysz, [...]
- Vulgate XXVII, v. 5: [...] & in opera manuum eius destrues illos, [...]
- Calvin XXVIII, v. 5: [...] & ad opus manuum eius, destruat eos, [...]
- 22 Psalm XXXI, 18: Pomogłeś duszy mojej z ciężkiego trapienia.
- Vulgate XXX, v. 7: [...] saluasti de necessitatibus animam meam.
- Calvin XXXI, v. 8: [...] cognouisti in angustiis animam meam:
- 23 Psalm XXXII, 33: Siła jest biczów na grzesznego: [...]
- Vulgate XXXI, v. 10: Multa flagella peccatoris, [...]
- Calvin XXXII, v. 10: Multa dolores impio: [...]
- 24 Psalm XXXIII, 13: Ten morze nieprzebyte zawarł, jako w bani,
- Vulgate XXXII, v. 7: Congregans sicut in vtre aquas maris, [...]
- Calvin XXXIII, v. 7: Congregauit sicut cumulum aquas maris, [...]

²¹ Kochanowski's use of the plural here strongly suggests that he has based his rendering on the Vulgate text.

- 25 Psalm XXXIII, 19-20: Rady wielkich Monarchów Pan wniwecz obraca,
Pan ludzkie myśli opak wyraca.²²
- Vulgate XXXII, v. 10: Dominus dissipat consilia gentium, reprobatur autem cogitationem populorum, & reprobatur consilia principum.
- Calvin XXXIII, v. 10: Iehoua dissipat consilium Gentium, tollit cogitationes populorum.
- 26 Psalm XXXIV, 5: [...] skromni niech słuchają²³
- Vulgate XXXIII, v. 2: [...] audiant mansueti [...]
- Calvin XXXIV, v. 3: [...] audient humiles, [...]
- 27 Psalm XXXIV, 41-42: Siła na pobożne frasunków przychodzi,
Ale je ze wszystkich sam Pan wyswobodzi:²⁴
- Vulgate XXXIII, v. 19: Multae tribulationes iustorum, & de iis omnibus liberabit eos dominus.
- Calvin XXXIX, v. 20: Multa mala iusti: & ex omnibus illis liberabit eum Iehoua:
- 28 Psalm XXXV, 5: Porwi broń, i tarcz: [...] ²⁵
- Vulgate XXXIV, v. 2: Apprehende arma & scutum, [...]
- Calvin XXXV, v. 2: Apprehendere clypeum, & scutum, [...]
- 29 Psalm XXXV, 7-8: Zastąp, dobywszy ostrej szable swojej,
Mym przeszladowcom: [...] ²⁶
- Vulgate XXXIV, v. 3: Effunde frameam, & conclude aduersus eos qui persequuntur me, [...]
- Calvin XXXV, v. 3: Exere lanceam, & obsiste ad occursum persequutoribus meis: [...]

²² While it is apparent that Kochanowski has derived this reference to the counsel of princes or kings from the Vulgate text, he has reversed the order in which the details appear.

²³ Kochanowski is following the Vulgate text in rendering this verb in the optative mood rather than the future indicative.

²⁴ Kochanowski's use of the plural in these lines indicates that he is following the Vulgate text.

²⁵ That the Psalmist in Kochanowski's translation exhorts the faithful to snatch up weapons and a shield suggests that he is following the Vulgate text (cf. Calvin and Pagninus: "Apprehende clypeum & scutum, [...]"). However, he might also have derived this line from Campensis' paraphrase: "Arripe clypeum & lanceam", although Campensis reverses the order in which these items are listed, and is more specific as to the type of weapon to be used. It is, therefore, more likely that Kochanowski based his translation on the Vulgate text.

²⁶ Kochanowski's reference to a sword rather than a spear indicates that he is following the Vulgate text here.

- 30 Psalm XXXVII, 85-86: Widziałem złego w szczęściu tak wyniosłym,
Że był Libańskim rowien Cedrom roslým,
Vulgate XXXVI, v. 35: Vidi impium superexaltatum & eleuatum sicut cedros Libani.
Calvin XXXVII, v. 35: Vidi impium robustum, & se extendentem: instar lauri viridis:
- 31 Psalm XXXVIII, 39-40: Chęć mi nie chęcią oddał: i dziś mię sromoci,
Żem przyjacielem zawżdy dobroci.
Vulgate XXXVII, v. 20: Qui retribuunt mala pro bonis, detrahebant mihi, quoniam sequebar bonitatem.
Calvin XXXVIII, v. 21: Et qui rependunt malum pro beneficentia, aduersantur mihi, eo quod sequutus sum bonum.
- 32 Psalm XXXIX, 49-50: Skłoń łaskawe uszy swoje,
Na plączliwe prośby moje.²⁷
Vulgate XXXVIII, v. 12: Exaudi orationem meam domine, & deprecationem meam, auribus percipe lachrymas meas, [...]
Calvin XXXIX, v. 13: Audi precationem meam Iehoua, & clamorem meam ausculta, ad lachrymas meas ne sileas, [...]
- 33 Psalm XL, 20: Nie masz, O Panie, Tobie równego.²⁸
Vulgate XXXIX, v. 5: [...] & cogitationibus tuis non est qui similis sit tibi.
Calvin, v. 6: [...] & cogitationes tuas super nos non licet ordinare ad te: [...]
- 34 Psalm XL, 26: Twój zakon w moim sercu jest ryty.
Vulgate XXXIX, v. 7: [...] legem tuam in medio cordis meo.
Calvin XL, v. 9: [...] Lex tua in medio viscerum meorum.

²⁷ This is a free translation of the Vulgate text, in which Kochanowski has condensed the details.

²⁸ Although Calvin cites this interpretation in his commentary to this verse, he rejects it: "Quia autem hoc modo abrumpitur contextus, coguntur verbum *aroch* secus accipere quam transtuli, nempe quod nullus æquari vel conferri Deo possit. Verum vt a longa refutatione abstineam, hunc genuinum esse sensum prudens lector mihi concedet, Deum incomprehensibili sapientia ita regere humanum genus, vt eius opera in suum & legitimum ordinem digerere nostrum non sit: quia sensus nostri priusquam in tantam altitudinem perueniant, sua tarditate dediciunt".

- 35 Psalm XL, 50-51: Ale mię jednak Pan ma na pieczy.
Tyś obrona i zdrowie, Panie, dusze mojej,
Vulgate XXXIX, v. 17: [...] dominus est sollicitus est mei. Adiutor me & protector meus tu es: [...]
Calvin XL, v. 18: [...] Iehouah prospexit mihi: auxilium meum & liberator meus, [...]
- 36 Psalm XLI, 33: Aleś za niewinnością moją mię wybawił,
Vulgate XL, v. 12: Me autem propter innocentiam suscepisti, [...]
Calvin XLI, v. 13: Et ego, in integritate mea sustentabis me, [...]

II. Commentaries.

(a) Calvin.

(i) Passages in which Kochanowski has used Calvin's commentary.

- 1 Psalm I, 19-20: Pan bowiem sprawiedliwych na wszelki czas broni,
A przewrotne złe ludzi cicha pomsta goni.
Calvin, v. 6: Quanuis ergo in speciem nihil Dei cultoribus prosit sua integritas, quia tamen proprium Dei munus est, ipsos tueri, & eorum saluti consulere, sub eius præsidio foelices esse necesse est. Inde vero rursum colligere licet, quia certus est scelerum vltor, quanuis ad tempus dissimulet, tandem perditurum omnes impios.
- 2 Psalm II, 13: Ale poruszy potym gniewu swego,
Calvin, v. 5: Imo loquendi verbo nihil aliud intelligit quam demonstrationem cælestis iræ, quam impii non nisi experti sentiunt.
- 3 Psalm II, 20: Tyś mój syn, jam cię dziś umnożył sobie.
Calvin, v. 7: Sciamus ergo hic Dei filium non vnum quempiam ex multis, sed vnigenitum designari, vt solus in cælo & in terra emineat.
- 4 Psalm III, 5: Myla sie: [...]
Calvin, v. 4: Copula in particulam aduersatiuam resolui debet. quia Dauid plenam fiducia vocem sacrilegiæ hostium proteruiæ opponens, quicquid loquantur illi, se nihilominus in Dei verbum recumbere testatur. [...]

- 5 Psalm V, 29-30: Tylko abych był bezpieczny
Od złych ludzi, Panie wieczny:
- Calvin, v. 9: Sed altera expositio aptior, vt Deus seruum suum per medias hostium insidias saluum deducat [...]
- 6 Psalm IX, 51-52: Patrz, w jakiej niebezpieczności
Jestem dziś położony.²⁹
- Calvin, v. 14: Hanc existimo secundam esse partem Psalmi. [...] principio scilicet collatas sibi gratias celebrasse, vt viam sibi ad orandum sterneret. nam Psalmus demum precatatione claudetur. Non ergo hic obiter inferit quæ prius inter media pericula & curas vota conceperat: sed ex professo Dei opem implorat, petitque vt idem ille, quam sæpe liberatorem erat expertus, gratiæ suæ cursum continuet.
- 7 Psalm X, 23-24: [...] ale i drogi zasiada,
Gdzie, jako inny zbójca niewinne, zbada.
- Calvin, v. 8: *Sedebit in insidiis*. Verba futuri temporis, quia continuum actum designant, consulto in aliud tempus mutare nolui [...] Describit ergo Daud quid facere soleant impii. Ac primo quidem latronibus eos comparat, qui viarum angustias obsident, & latebras sibi deligunt, ex quibus incautes viatores deprehendant.
- 8 Psalm X, 29: Leży za siecią, że go nie znać przy ziemi,³⁰
- Calvin, v. 10: Atterunt se, inquit, & demittunt, ne scilicet truculentia sua procul terreant: quia potius illecebris suis captare volunt quos non possunt nisi propiore accessu lædere.
- 9 Psalm XII, 5-6: Bodaj źle zginał każdy człowiek nieprawdziwy,
Każdy chytry pochlebca i każdy chełpliwy:
- Calvin, v. 4: Quanquam vero dubium est opetne destrui perfidos homines, an priuari tantum nocendi facultate: contextus tamen ad priorem sensum magis nos deducet.

²⁹ The fact that Kochanowski makes explicit this change from references to past manifestations of God's mercy and help, which have been set out in previous verses, to a prayer for further assistance in the present, suggests the influence of Calvin's commentary.

³⁰ While Kochanowski's manner of expression differs from other sources, the substance of what is said agrees very well with Calvin's commentary, for those seeking to ambush or entrap their prey will often lie down so as to make themselves less visible.

10 Psalm XVI, 5-8:

Tyś moim Panem: acz Ty posług moich
Nie potrzebujesz: jednak wiernych Twoich
Trzymać się będę, i czasy wiecznymi
Przestane z nimi.

Calvin, vv. 2-3:

[...] acsi dixisset, Mihi quidem penitus infixum est ac persuasum, nihil vtilitatis vel fructus ad Deum ex me redire: sanctis tamen me adiungam socium, vt eum laudum sacrificiis simul colamus. [...] Ego vero licet hanc doctrinam sub verbis Dauidis comprehendit nonnegem, longius tamen eum progredi arbitror: nempe quod se applicabit ad pios Dauid cultores, & illis socius erit, vel comes [...]

11 Psalm XVI, 15-16:

Nie mógł na mnie dział przypaść pożądnieszy,
Ani piękniejszy.³¹

Calvin, v. 6:

Melius confirmat quod dixit proximu versu, nempe sedato ac tranquillo animo si in vno Deo acquiescere: imo ita gloriari, vt magnifice despiciat quicquid extra ipsum optabile sibi mundus fingit. Nam honorifico elogio Deum extollens, se quicquam amplius expetere negat.

12 Psalm XVI, 31-32:

Ani dopuścisz doznać skazy Twemu
Ulubionemu.³²

Calvin, v. 10:

Notanda est enim vtriusque vocis etymologia. Sepulchrum enim *sheol* vocatur, tanquam inexplibilis gurgis qui omnia consumit: *shachath* vero a corruptione. quare non tam locus hic notatur quam qualitas: acsi dictum esset, vitam Christi a sepulchri iure fore immunem, quia ne mortuum quidem eius corpus corruptioni erit obnoxium.

13 Psalm XVIII, 83-84:

Z rozterku, i trwóg domowych Tyś mię wybawił,
I nad ziemskimi narody głową postawił.

Calvin, v. 44:

Summatim colligit Dauid se Dei auxilium modis omnibus expertum esse: nam & magnum ei discrimen ex domesticis turbis instabat, nisi mirabiliter sedatae essent, ferocia populi in ordinem coacta.

³¹ While the Psalmist's statement in lines 15-16 that he does not desire anything else, so pleasant is the inheritance given to him by God, agrees very well with Calvin's commentary, his manner of expression differs from it. The reference to the inheritance being desirable and beautiful might derive from Campensis: "Funes ceciderunt mihi in locis amœnissimis, quibus assignata mihi est hæreditas tam speciosa, quam vel optare potuissem", or from Buchanan (lines 19-20: "O pulchra agricolatio, / O præclara mei sors patrimonii,").

³² While we find something similar in Pagninus' translation ("nec permittes misericordem tuum videre corruptionem"), the fact that Kochanowski refers to David as "Ulubiony" suggests that he has based his rendering on Calvin's commentary rather than on Pagninus' translation, for it is rather closer to "christus" (anointed) than to "misericors" (merciful or compassionate).

- 14 Psalm XVIII, 89-90: Bądź pochwalon, o mój Boże niezwyciężony,
Twoja moc niech będzie jawna na wszystkie strony.
- Calvin, v. 47: Viuat Iehoua. [...] Cæterum vitu hæc ad Dei
essentiam non restringitur, sed potius ex operibus
æstimanda est quæ vitam eius nobis manifestant. [...] Itaque vivere dicitur, quatenus claris potentiæ suæ
documentis mundum sua manu contineri demonstrat.
- 15 Psalm XIX, 27-28: [...] nie masz miejsca tego,
Gdzie by się schronić przed promieniami jego.³³
- Calvin, v. 7: Quod vegetatiuum calorem in tertio membro notari
quidam putant, mihi non probatur. [...] sed quid dicit,
neminem vel nihil abscondi ab eius calore, de violento
æstu, quo tam homines quam reliqua animantia, plantæ
etiam & arbores torrentur, potius intelligo [...]
- 16 Psalm XX, 13-14: Wrychle cię zdrowego (da Pan Bóg) ujrzemy,
I powinne Panu dzięki uczyniemy.³⁴
- Calvin, v. 6: Nam fideles quo facilius Regi suo impetrent Dei
fauorem, communem lætitiā, & gratiarum actionem in
medium proponunt [...]
- 17 Psalm XXI, 24: Rozczęli radę, ale miną się z nadzieją.³⁵
- Calvin, v. 12: Dicit postea cogitasse fraudem, vel consilium quod
effectu carebit.
- 18 Psalm XXII, 81-82: I tak do końca, póki świata zstawać,
Beda to sobie przez ręce podawać.
- Calvin, v. 32: Confirmat quod ante dixi, quia patres beneficij notitiā
ad filios quasi per manus transmittent, semper celebre
fore eius nomen.
- 19 Psalm XXIV, 8: Ten kto kłamstwa, i krzywych przysięg się warował.
- Calvin, v. 4: Extollere, vel assumere animam, non dubito quin
sumatur pro Iurare. [...] Quod autem de iuramentis
sermo sit, ex particula exegetica quæ mox additur,
colligere licet, vbi dicit, neque iuravit ad fraudem.

³³ It seems likely that Kochanowski has produced a free translation of Calvin's commentary in these lines, for Estienne, Buchanan and others understand "calor" as denoting that vegetative heat which is necessary for all life rather than that extreme heat which destroys it.

³⁴ Although Buchanan also speaks of the Israelites giving thanks to God, his translation is considerably longer and freer than Kochanowski's. Therefore, it is my opinion that Kochanowski derived this reference from Calvin's commentary.

³⁵ Kochanowski's use of the word "rada" (counsel) might also derive from the Vulgate text ("Quoniam declinaverunt in te mala, cogitauerunt consilia quæ non potuerunt stabilire"). His rendering in the remainder of line 24, where it is said that they fail to achieve the desired result, is a paraphrase of the biblical text.

- 20 Psalm XXIV, 13 &
21 Psalm XXIV, 17:

Calvin, v. 7:

Otwórcie się, wysokie niedobyte brony,

Quia nondum extabat magnificus ille templi splendor, in quo plus fuit externæ dignitatis quam in tabernaculo, Dauid hic de future eius structura concionatur [...]

- 22 Psalm XXV, 25-26:

Calvin, v. 12:

Jest kto na ziemi, co by żył prawdziwie,
W bojaźni Pańskiej? [...] ³⁶

Videtur autem interrogatio notare eorum paucitatem qui Deum timent. Nam etsi promiscue omnes orant, & præ se ferunt aliquod pietatis studium, quotusquisque se penitus excutit?

- 23 Psalm XXV, 26-27:

Calvin, v. 13:

[...] taki niewątpliwie
Ma wódcem Pana, [...]

Si summa est hominis fœlicitas, nihil aggredi vel tentare nisi auctore Deo, summum quoque & incomparabile beneficium est, illum habere viæ ducem ne vnquam aberremus.

- 24 Psalm XXV, 41-44:

Calvin, vv. 17-18:

Pełne mam serce nieznośnej żalości,
Ty mię sam, Panie, wyrwi z tych trudności:
Wejźrzy na ciężkość, wejźrzy na me troski,
Zabacz mych grzechów, uskrom gniew swój Boski.

Fatetur hoc versu non modo externum sibi bellum esse cum hostibus & molestiis quas inferunt, sed intus etiam mœrore & angoribus se torqueri. [...] Ergo Dauid vt remedium inueniat suis molestiis, a peccatorum remissione incipit, quia Deo irato & infenso, omnia infœliciter nobis cedere necesse est.

- 25 Psalm XXV, 46:

Calvin, v. 19:

Krwie mojej pragnąć ledwie nie umiera.

Odium, hoc est violentiæ, pro Crudeli & sanguinario capitur.

- 26 Psalm XXVI, 1-2:

Calvin, v. 1:

Panie, uczyń sąd o mnie, a tam ujrzesz moje
Niewinność: [...]

Iudicare autem Hebræis dicitur qui causæ cognitionem suscipit. perinde igitur est acsi Dauid appellet Deum iuris sui vindicem. [...] Nam quia proprium Dei munus est bonas causas asserere ac tueri, eum sibi patronum constituens, integritatis suæ & spei testem citat. vnde & fiduciam opis impetrandæ concipit.

³⁶ This question is more emphatic in Kochanowski's rendering than in the original text, a fact which suggests that he has relied upon Calvin's commentary.

- 27 Psalm XXVI, 13-15: Cnościem ja przyjacielem, i w tej niewinności
Ołtarz Twój święty kołem radości
Otoczę (da li Pan Bóg), [...] ³⁷
- Calvin, v. 6: Quum igitur hoc Daudid cum hypocritis haberet commune, quod simul templum ingrediabantur, & altare circundarent: vt se probet verum Dei cultorem, non externis tantum cæemoniis se defungi testatur, sed sincera pietate ad Deum colendum se venire.
- 28 Psalm XXVI, 25: Panie, Tyś dobry świadek mojej niewinności. ³⁸
- Calvin, v. 1: Nam quia proprium Dei munus est bonas causas asserere ac tueri, eum sibi patronum constituens, integritatis suæ & spei testem citat. [....]
- 29 Psalm XXVIII, 18: Że mię podwyższasz Ty sam z łaski swojej:
- Calvin, v. 5: Sic aduersarij Daudidis quum volentes ignorarent eum Diuinitus creatum esse Regem, animos ad eum persequendum sumpserunt. ³⁹
- 30 Psalm XXIX, 5-6: Głos Pański deszcze leje, głos Pański grom srogi,
I okrutne pobudza na powietrzu trwogi. ⁴⁰
- Calvin, v. 3: Non dicit solem quotidie oriri, spargi eius radiis viuificam lucem, non dicit pluuiam leniter stillare, quæ suo succo terram fœcundet: sed tonitru, violentos imbres, & quæ terrifico motu mentes hominum percellunt in testimonium adducit. [...] Ter enim inculcat, vocem Dei magnis & impetuosius imbris audiri: [....]
- 31 Psalm XXX, 17-18: Mnie po prawdzie szczęście było
Tak dalece już zbłądziło,
- Calvin, v. 7: Hæc est confessio cuius antea memini, in qua se agnoscit iuste & merito dedisse stultæ securitatis pœnam, quia scilicet conditionis suæ oblitus, nimium rebus prosperis se addixerat.

³⁷ While the Psalmist states in the Hebrew text that "laui in innocentia manus meas", Kochanowski's rendering goes further, saying that he will worship God in innocence. This assertion appears to be rather closer to Calvin's commentary than to the Hebrew text.

³⁸ Both the Hebrew and Vulgate texts repeat the Psalmist's assertion of his innocence from verse 1 at this point. Kochanowski does likewise, and this line picks up Calvin's interpretation of this passage, that the Psalmist is calling on God to be a witness to his innocence.

³⁹ This reference to God raising up David from shepherd to king might also derive, as Sienicki asserts, from Buchanan's rendering (lines 17-18: "Non his consilii prouida vis tui, / (Qui me conspicuis tollis honoribus)").

⁴⁰ While the reference to rain in line 5 probably derives from Buchanan's rendering, line 6 reveals the influence of Calvin's commentary, which interprets the three details in this verse as signifying violent storms, by which God's power was made manifest.

32 Psalm XXXI, 51:

Jaciam już był bez mała zwatpił w łasce Twojej,⁴¹

Calvin, v. 23:

Itaque siue festinationem vertas, siue alio modo, intelligit, se quasi præcipitem fuisse abreptum, vt se putaret a Deo negligi. Opponitur autem hæc festinatio rationi sedatæ & compositæ: quia etsi metu percussus fuit Dauid, non tamen succubuit, acsi fixa in eius mente stetisset hæc persuasio. Scimus enim, sæpe terroribus inquietari fideles, & feruore impatientiæ, vel nimium celeribus votis quasi præcipientes impelli: sed postea redire ad se ipsos. Quod autem hac tentatione nunquam excussa fuerit Dauidi fideles, ex contextu patet: quia mox addidit exaudias fuisse suas preces. at qui extincta fide serium precandi affectum concipere non potuit [...]

33 Psalm XXXII, 13-16:

Wolałem tedy, Boże litościwy,
 Swój grzech przed Tobą objawić brzydliwy,
Nie chciałem dalej pokrywać swej złości,
 A Tyś odpuścił moje wszeteczności.

Calvin, v. 5:

Quum ergo infœliciter eum angeret ac torqueret iræ Dei sensus, hæc vnica leuatio fuit, ingenue se damnare coram Deo, & ad veniæ deprecationem suppliciter confugere. [...] Hac prauitate se fuisse implicitum negat Dauid, sine vlla simulatione patefecerit Deo quicquid eum premebat. quod etiam confirmat *dicendi* verbo. Nam quum reprobi trahantur, perinde acsi iudex sceleratos inquæstionem ageret, consulto & propenso animi motu se venisse testatur. Nam istud dicere, nihil aliud est quam secum deliberare: nihil aliud est quam secum deliberare: vnde sequitur, veniam sibi fuisse pollicitum a Dei miserericordia, ne liberæ confessioni viam præcluderet terror.

34 Psalm XXXIII, 11-12:

Słowem Pańskim jest wielkie niebo zawieszone,
 I wzorem złotych gwiazd ozdobione.⁴²

Calvin, v. 6:

Ideo mox addit eorum exercitum: qua voce sydera & stellas intelligit, vsitato Scripturæ more. nam si hoc ornatu carerent cæli, quodammodo vacui essent.

⁴¹ While Kochanowski's rendering of this verse differs from Calvin's commentary in its manner of expression, nonetheless the substance of what is said is very similar, namely that David believed himself for a time to have been deserted by God, but that after calm reflection he realised that this was not the case. Thus, while he came close to despairing of God's mercy, and almost gave up hope of ever being rescued from the hardship which oppressed him, yet he maintained his faith.

⁴² Campensis also refers to God ornamenting the heavens, but does not mention stars ("Verbo domini cæli facti sunt, et spiritu oris eius vniuersus ornatus illorum"), while the notes attached to Pagninus' translation contain a reference to the stars but not to the sky being ornamented by them ("Et spiritu oris eius. Figurata spiritum oris pro ipsa pronuntiatione sumit: acsi dictum esset, Simulac halitum vocis suæ emisit Deus, vel protulit verbo quid vellet fieri, cælos repente extitisse, & quidem incredibili stellarum copia & varietate extructos"). This suggests that he is following Calvin's commentary here.

- 35 Psalm XXXIV, 6: A moim przykładem w dobrej myśli trwają.⁴³
 Calvin, v. 3: Alterum fructum commemorat gratiarum actionis, quia alios scilicet exemplo suo ad idem pietatis officium impellet; imo pios omnes in societatem accersit, & inuitat, hortaturque vt Deum vno consensu magnifice extollant.
- 36 Psalm XXXV, 1-2: Obrońca wieczny ludzi utrapionych,
 Do Ciebie w swoich krzywdach niezliczonych⁴⁴
 Calvin, v. 1: Sed vt nobis grauis acerbaque sit eorum iniuria, incomparabile solatium hinc offertur, quod suum patrocinium Deus ipse falsis accusationibus opponit.
- 37 Psalm XXXV, 52-54: Abych Twą dobroć przy wielkim wyznawał
 Ludzi zebraniu, i Tobie oddawał
Chwałę powinna.
 Calvin, v. 18: [...] nec tantum de priuata gratiarum actione loquitur, sed quam erepti ex maximis periculis, ex præscepto Legis edere solebant in cœtu publico.
- 38 Psalm XXXV, 59-60: A w sercu myśla, jakoby zdradliwie
Podyć dobrego.
 Calvin, v. 20: Dicit igitur Dauid, hostes suos simulac rupturam aliquam patere vident, toto conatu incumbere ad labenti exitium machinari cœperunt: vt sciamus impios homines, seruili ingenio, & timidos vt plurimum esse, neque efferi ad ferociam nisi quum ex bonorum & simplicium ærumnis oblata est occasio.
- 39 Psalm XXXVII, 3-4: Bo ci leda w dzień tak upadną snadnie,
 Jako za kosą trawa prędko padnie.⁴⁵
 Calvin, v. 2: Additur secundo versu ratio, quia si hodie florent instar herbæ viridis, cras succisi exarescent. [...] Atqui Dei iudicium instar falcis fore pronuntiat Dauid ad eos excidendos, vt momento exareant.

⁴³ Buchanan also makes reference to David serving as an example to others (lines 7-8: "Meoque turba tristis exemplo suas / Solabitur molestias").

⁴⁴ While there is no corresponding passage in the biblical text, nonetheless, these lines contain a number of details which also appear in Calvin's commentary to verse 1.

⁴⁵ It is possible that Kochanowski's rendering derives from Buchanan's paraphrase, which also refers to the scythe (lines 7-8: "Marcent comis arentibus / Vt falce secta gramina").

In any case, it is apparent that Kochanowski's rendering derives from the Hebrew rather than the Vulgate text, which refers to the grass falling rather than being mown: "Quoniam tanquam fœnum velociter arecent, & quamedmodum olera herbarum cito decident".

40 Psalm XXXVII, 5-6:

Miej ty nadzieję w Panu, a cnotliwie
Swój żywot sprawuj: [...]

Calvin, v. 3:

Sicut autem a fide facit exordium, vt Deum ostendat bonorum omnium esse authorem, nec sperandos esse prosperos successus nisi ab vnica eius benedictione: ita notanda est probitatis eius coniunctio, quia recte & innoxie viuēt, ac beneficentiæ studebit quisquis Dei fidei se committet.⁴⁶

41 Psalm XXXVII, 15:

Tylko badź skromny, [...]

Calvin, v. 7:

Silentij vero metaphora (quæ frequenter in Scripturis occurrit) aptissime declarat fidei naturam. nam vt affectus nostri Deo obstrepunt, ita fides in placidum obsequium non componens, tumultus omnes in cordibus nostris compescit. Hoc itaque verbo Daud nos tumultuari vetat, sicuti faciunt increduli, vel cum frenitu nos opponere eius imperio, sed quietis animis cedere vt opus suum in silentio peragat.

42 Psalm XXXVIII, 15-16:

[...] owa rycząć muszę,
Mając tak barzo strwożoną duszę.

Calvin, v. 9:

Nam quum parum virile existimetur erumpere in clamorem vel rugitum, Daudem vero sciamus ad mala ferenda mollem non fuisse: sæuissimis tormentis cruciatum fuisse colligimus, quia lacrymis non contentus, vociferari etiam coactus fuerit. [...] sensus tamen clarus est, se tumultuoso cordis impetus compulsus fuisse ad clamorem.

43 Psalm XXXVIII, 23:

A zły człowiek tym czasem czynił o mnie radę,

Calvin, v. 13:

[...] deinde sine figura addit, eos in perniciem suam loqui, & quasi occultis susurris inter se consulere quomodo noceant.

⁴⁶ It seems probable that the exhortation in Kochanowski's rendering for men to live virtuously derives from Calvin's explanation of the imperative "benefac". While Campensis' paraphrase contains a similar exhortation: "sectare quod bonum est", the fact that both Calvin and Kochanowski interpret this as telling men how they should direct their lives, suggests that the poet derived his rendering from this source.

44 Psalm XXXIX, 1-4:

Do tegom był myśl swą sklonił,
Abych sie był zawždy chronił:
 Nie tylko uczynku złego,
 Ale i słowa bystrego.⁴⁷

Calvin, v. 2:

Dicendi verbo, natum est, sæpe non externum sermonem, sed quid animo quisque conceperit notari: ideoque interdum additur In corde. [...] Iam quod se *capistro os clausisse dicit ne loquendo peccaret*, non ita intelligere conuenit quasi satis habuerit intus premere & vorare quicquid eum angebat [...] sed quia lingua nihil est magis lubricum, testatur Daudid se tanto studio incubuisse ad frænandos affectus, vt ne verbum quidem ex ore efflueret quo proderet aliquam impatientiam.

45 Psalm XXXIX, 9-10:

Ale żal mój zatajony
Tym wiecej był objatrzony:

Calvin, v. 4:

Nunc similitudine amplificat doloris magnitudinem, quod dolor occulte suppressus, plus caloris conceperit, donec ardor ingens magis ac magis inualesceret.

46 Psalm XXXIX, 33-34:

A Ty z Pańskiej swej litości,
 Racz zapomnieć moich złości:⁴⁸

Calvin, v. 9:

Neque enim iam rapitur doloris impetu, vt cum Deo expostulet, sed reum se coram Deo suppliciter statuens ad misericordiam eius confugit: [...] [...] Certe mitigationem suorum malorum petebat Daudid: sed quia sperabat, simul ac reconciliatus esset Deo, futurum quoque vt scelerum pœnæ finem acciperent: tantum petit sibi remitti peccata.

47 Psalm XL, 21-22:

[...] toś mi włożył w uszy,
Że Cię ofiara żadna nie ruszy.

Calvin, v. 7:

Nam aurium perforationem quasi parenthesi includit, de sacrificiis ex professo tractans: vt apte resolui possit oratio in hunc modum, Domine tu mihi aures aperuisti, vt dextre agnoscam quorsum spectet quicquid mandasti de sacrificiis, nempe ea per se nihil afferre oblectationis [...]

⁴⁷ The reference to the Psalmist's thoughts rather than words in line 1, the statement of intent in line 2, and the reference to impatience in line 4 all indicate the influence of Calvin's commentary. Kochanowski's use of a pluperfect construction in lines 1-2, while the Hebrew and Vulgate texts render the first verb ("Dixi") in the perfect tense and the second verb ("Custodiam") in the future tense, introduces a greater degree of consistency into this Psalm for it is said that David had intended to keep silent and avoid sin, but that he failed to do so, so great was his grief.

⁴⁸ Calvin's commentary is the only text which mentions both God's mercy and the entreaty for Him to forget the Psalmist's sins.

- 48 Psalm XL, 39: Racze mię, mocny Panie, z łaski swej pocieszyć,
Calvin, v. 14: Verbum quo vtitur Daudid, ex mero beneplacito velle significat. Ergo liberari cupit gratuita Dei misericordia [....]
- 49 Psalm XL, 47-48: A cnotliwi bodaj dni dobrych używali,
I zawżdy Pańską moc wyznawali.
Calvin, v. 17: Idem valet quod prius dixerat, Deum quærere: quia vt quis a Deo totus pendeat, & cupiat eius gratia saluus esse, necesse abiecta omni vana spe ad amplexandum eius virtutem adiicere omnes sensus.
- 50 Psalm XLI, 21-22: Znać (powiada) że go Pan za grzechy chce skarać:
I on nędznik o zdrowie próżno się ma starać.⁴⁹
Calvin, v. 9: Quia autem Grammatici compositam esse volunt ex *beli* & *yaäl*, quod est non ascendere, verbum *Beliial* hoc loco interpretor scelus inexprabile, vel a quo non sit regressus [....] Quicquid sit, statuunt Deum prorsus infestum esse Daudid, & fore implacabilem, quia tam atrociter eum puniat.
- 51 Psalm XLI, 25-26: Aż i ten, któregom ja tak był umiłował,
Żem, jako najbliższego brata, go szacował.
Calvin, v. 10: Viros pacis Hebræ nominant propinquos & affines.

(ii) Passages in which Kochanowski has used Calvin's commentary, but does not adopt Calvin's preferred interpretation.

- 1 Psalm III, 14-15: Żaden mój nieprzyjaciół Twojej srogości
Nigdy wytrzymać nie mógł: biłeś je w gęby,⁵⁰
Calvin, v. 8: Quod sequitur de hostibus percussis, bifariam exponi potest: vel vt precando in memoriam reuocet superiores victorias, vel vt Dei auxilium expertus, & potitus suo voto, gratiarum actione, subiungat. in quam sententiam libenter inclino.

⁴⁹ While Kochanowski's rendering in line 22 does not correspond precisely to any source or model, nonetheless, the interpretation given in these lines, that God is so incensed by the actions of the Psalmist that He will never forgive his sin and that, therefore, all hopes of salvation are vain, strongly suggests that the poet has based his rendering on Calvin's commentary.

⁵⁰ This might also derive from Campensis: "Deus, qui percutere soles omnium inimicorum meorum maxillas, & ignominiose veluti colaphum impingere illis, & dentes impiorum male de me loquentium confringere." However, the fact that Kochanowski separates this reference to previous manifestations of God's aid from the details which follow in lines 15-16 suggests that he probably derived his rendering from Calvin rather than from Campensis.

2 Psalm XVII, 1-4:

Placz sprawiedliwy, i skargę moję,
Przypuść przed świętą obliczność swoją;
Usłysz, o Sędzia nienaganiony,
Ust nieobłudnych głos niezmyślony.

Calvin, v. 1:

Nam quod iustitiæ nomen quidam exponunt
Precationem iustam, mihi frigidum videtur. Potius
Dauid ex sua integritate fiduciam concipiens, inter se &
hostes Deum statuit quasi arbitrum, vt de cause
cognoscat.

3 Psalm XVII, 19-20:

Wysłuchałeś mnie w złe czasy moje,
Proszę, i dziś mi daj ucho swoje.⁵¹

Calvin, v. 6:

Nisi forte magis placeat mutare tempus verbi (sicuti
quidam faciunt) hoc sensu, Orabo, quia expertus sum
hactenus preces meas abs te fuisse exauditas.

(b) Estienne.⁵²

1 Psalm II, 7-8:

Mówiąc, Co czyniem? Zrzućmy z karku swego
Ich ciężkie jarzmo, niech nam nie panują.

Estienne, note to v. 3:

Funes vero, siue ligamina, imperium. [...] Legibus
eorum, inquit, ne pareamus: demusque operam ne
imperent nobis.⁵³

2 Psalm III, 9-10:

Przetoż i dziś będę spał na to bezpiecznie,
Bo Pan żywota mego strzeże koniecznie:

Estienne, note to v. 6:

Decubui, Præterita Hebræis, quæ verti possunt per
futura, Decubabo & dormiam, & expergiscar: quia
Dominus fulciet me. q. d. Ego cuius caput tot hostes
petunt, vbi opem a Deo petiuero committam me quieti,
& securus dormiam: quia Deo defensore fido.

3 Psalm V, 34:

Serce chytne, i zdradliwe.⁵⁴

Estienne, note to v. 10:

Prauitates. Id est cor eorum plenum est dolis & fraudibus.

⁵¹ While the various Latin translations of this passage are lexically very similar, they differ in their interpretation of that passage, employing variously the past tense, the future tense, or a combination of the two (cf. Calvin: "Ego inuocaui te, certe exaudies me Deus"; Pagninus: "Ego inuocaui te, quoniam exaudis me Deus"; Vulgate: "Ego clamaui quoniam exaudisti me deus"). While Kochanowski omits "inuocaui", his rendering suggests that he views it as referring to this new prayer, a interpretation which Calvin discusses but views as inferior.

⁵² While the notes which accompany Pagninus' translation are ascribed to Vatable, they were not written by him for this purpose. Rather they were collected together from his other writings by the publisher Robert Estienne (Stephanus). For this reason I refer to them not as Vatable's commentary but as notes by Estienne.

⁵³ Note, however, that Campensis has something similar: "abiciamus a nobis vincula eorum, ne pareamus legibus eorum".

⁵⁴ The fact that the biblical text contains only one detail concerning the hearts of impious men (cf. Calvin and Pagninus: "intimum eorum prauitates"; Vulgate: "cor eorum vanum est"), while Kochanowski's rendering contains two, suggests the influence of Estienne's note to Pagninus' translation.

- 4 Psalm XXV, 27-28: [...] który go sprawuje
Temi drogami, co je sam lubuje.
- Estienne, note to v. 12: Viam quam eligat. viam quam elegit. vel, elegerit. i. quam ipse Iehoua probauerit.⁵⁵
- 5 Psalm XXXI, 3: Prze dobroć swoją, racz mię z trudności wybawić,
- Estienne, note to v. 2: Alii exponunt, pro tua bonitate & benignitate. siue, quia bonus, iustus & æquus es.
- 6 Psalm XXXII, 23-24: Ty w uściech moich wzbudisz wdzięczne pienie,
Jako gdy człowiek czuje wyzwolenie.
- Estienne, note to v. 7: Clamoribus liberationis, &c. [...] pro, lætitia qua gaudere solent qui ab hostibus liberati sunt, perfundes me. vel, canticis lætis quibus vti solent qui e periculis liberati sunt, omnino cinges me.⁵⁶
- 7 Psalm XXXV, 47-48: Mną sobie geby dwórni wymywali
Darmojadowie.
- Estienne, note to v. 16: Redit autem ad aulicos procures Sauli [...]⁵⁷
- 8 Psalm XL, 45: Bodaj za moje wzgardę obelżenie mieli,
- Estienne, note to v. 16: In mercedem pudoris sui Hebraismus, quasi dicas, pro eo quod me pudefacere conabantur. Vel, sicuti hoc vnum spectarunt vt me ignominia opprimerent, & confuso ac perduto petulanter insultarent: ita similis confusio in eorum capita recidat.

⁵⁵ This is an interpretation of which Calvin disapproves: "Quod quidam interpretes in verbo *Eligat* futurum tempus in præsens resoluunt, acsi dictum esset, Deum monstrare viam quam ipse probat, & perquam vult homines incedere. nam electio hæc (meo iudicio) potius ad vnumquemque refertur [...]"

⁵⁶ This reference might equally derive from Campensis' translation ("quibus gaudere solent e manibus hostium elapsi") or Buchanan's paraphrase (lines 31-32: "[...] vt hostium / Qui vincla fracto carcere depulit").

⁵⁷ This is an interpretation of which Calvin disapproves: "[...] quidam enim *maog* sumentes pro placenta, putant hic perstringi liguritores, qui lautas & opiparas mensas aucupabantur: quales semper multi in aulis principum circumuolitant."

III. Verse Translations.

(a) Buchanan.

- 1 Psalm II, 30-32: Wy, którym władza do rak jest podana:
Oglądajcie się w swych sprawach na Pana:
Tego się bójcie i Tego szanujcie.

- Buchanan, 21-25: At vos, in populos quibus est permissa potestas,
Et ius ab alta sede plebi dicitis,
Errorum tenebras depellite, discite verum:
Seruite domino cum tremore: gaudiis
Et timor & Domini accedat reuerentia vestris,

- 2 Psalm II, 33: Obląpcie syna: [...]

- Buchanan, 26: Vt missum ab illo filium amplectamini,

- 3 Psalm III, 6: Tyś moja cześć i mojej głowy korona:

- Buchanan, 9-10: Quum laudis author sis meæ, quum gloria
Meum corones verticem.

- 4 Psalm IV, 9-10: Także wiedźcie: kogo Pan sobie ulubuje,
Tego w żadnej przygodzie już nie odstepuje.⁵⁸

- Buchanan, 13-14: Quem Deus electum miro dignatur honore,
Per discrimina cuncta tuetur.

- 5 Psalm IV, 15: Co noc to rozbierajcie dnia przeszłego sprawy,

- Buchanan, 19-20: Vobiscum in tacito per noctem expendite lecto
Longi dicta ac facta diei.

- 6 Psalm IV, 17-20: Więc baranem ani wołem Go błagajcie,
Ale przedeń sumnienie czyste przynaszajcie:
Co gdy będzie, już pewni tego być możecie,
Że się na swych nadziejach nic nie zawiedziecie.

- Buchanan, 21-24: Non pecudum fibris Domino sed mente litatur
Innocua: si admoueris aris
Hanc, poteris sperare animi securus ab alto
Dextra munera larga benigna.

⁵⁸ It should be noted that we find a similar interpretation in Calvin's commentary ("Nam in eo præcipue fidem suam probat Dominus quod opus suum non deserit, sed quos semel amplexus est, perpetuo tuetur [...]").

- 7 Psalm IV, 25-26: Inszy niechaj szpichlerze nawiezione maja,
Niechaj wszyscy piwnice winem zastawiaja.⁵⁹
 Buchanan, 30-32: Alter frugibus horrea stipet,
Impleat & multas generoso nectare cellas,
 Et congesto gaudeat auro.
- 8 Psalm V, 21: Mąż okrutny, ręki krwawej,
 Buchanan, 18-19: Hostis es fraudum & cupidæ cruoris
Cædis: [...]
- 9 Psalm V, 36: A język, pochlebca płony.⁶⁰
 Buchanan, 33-34: Lingua adulatrix tacito veneno
Blandiens, cæcos meditatur ictus.
- 10 Psalm V, 37-40: Karz je, Panie, prze ich zdrady,
 Zamieszaj ich wszyscy rady:
 Odrzuć je wiecznie od siebie,
Bo Pana mieć nie chcą Ciebie.⁶¹
 Buchanan, 38-39: Quique te linquunt, scelerum suorum
 Sentiant pœnas meritas, [...]
- 11 Psalm VI, 6: Dokąd mię chcesz zapomnieć, Ojcze litościwy:
 Buchanan, 10: Quo me vsque miserum negliges?
- 12 Psalm VI, 12: Na każdą noc umyję łzami swoje łozę.
 Buchanan, 18-19: [...] lacrymis
 Lauo cubile: [...]
- 13 Psalm VI, 14: [...] a krzywdy ludzkie się mi odjęły.
 Buchanan, 22-24: [...] hostium
 Interque risus & dolos emarcuit
 Color vigorque corporis.
- 14 Psalm VII, 15: A powstań z pomsta, [...]
 Buchanan, 19-20: Exurge, promissamque redde
 Perfidia Deum ultionem.

⁵⁹ Kochanowski's manner of expression is similar to Buchanan's rendering in these lines. However, the reference to cellars full of wine suggests the influence of Calvin's commentary ("Summa est, pluris sibi esse propitium Dei vultum, quam si horrea frumento referta, cellasque vino plenas haberet").

⁶⁰ It is also possible that this reference derived from Pagninus' translation: "lingua sua blandiuntur".

⁶¹ While Kochanowski is following Calvin's translation in line 38 (cf. "rady", "consiliis") and the Vulgate text in line 39 (cf. "Odrzuć", "expelle eos"), his rendering in lines 37 and 40 recalls the imprecation in Buchanan's paraphrase for God to mete out the punishment due to those who forsake Him.

- 15 Psalm VII, 25-27: Boże, przed którym tajne być nie mogą
Myśli człowiecze, w Twej stojąc obronie
Przed żadną nigdy nie uciekę trwoga.⁶²
- Buchanan, 29-34: O iuste iudex, cordis in intimo
Quem nil recessu præterit abditum,
Frange impios ausus malorum:
Fulci animos refouequē iustos.
Securus hostes nil metuo Deo
Custode, [...]
- 16 Psalm VII, 40: Prózen i troski, i niebezpieczności,
- Buchanan, 49: Ergo expeditus fraudibus & metu,
- 17 Psalm VIII, 5-8: Gdziekolwiek słońce miece strzały swoje,
Wszędy jest zacne święte imię Twoje,
A sławy niebo ogarnąć nie może
Twej, wieczny Boże.
- Buchanan, 1-4: Gentis humanæ pater atque custos,
Quam sancta maiestas tui
Nominis terras stupefecit omnes,
Sol quas recurrens aspicit!
- 18 Psalm IX, 5: Będę wesół w Twej obronie,
- Buchanan, 5-6: Tutus præsidio nil metuam tuo:
Lætus læta canam sed tibi carmina,
- 19 Psalm X, 39-40: Ale człowiek upadły, człowiek niewinny
Łaskę pozna: Ty sirot bronisz, nie inny.
- Buchanan, 65-66: Tibi relictus est inops atque innocens:
Tu tutor orbos protegis.
- 20 Psalm XI, 1-2: Panu ja ufam, a wy mówicie, między góry
Uciekaj co nadalej, jako ptak prędkopióry.⁶³
- Buchanan, 1-4: Quum spe salutis non dubia fruar,
Deoque fidam, vos mihi dicitis
Faciesse rupes in remotas,
Anteuolans pavidas volucres.

⁶² While Kochanowski speaks of men's thoughts, while Buchanan refers to what they conceal in their hearts, nonetheless, their manner of expression is similar. This similarity, and the dissimilarity to the manner of expression in the biblical text, suggests that Kochanowski has made use of Buchanan's translation here.

⁶³ While Kochanowski's rendering adheres more closely to the biblical text than does Buchanan's, nonetheless the presence of the phrase "a wy mówicie" rather than the more incredulous "quomodo dicitis animæ meæ", clearly derives from here. The reference to distant exile is harder to pin down, for this and the reference to fleeing among the mountains (plural) rather than to one specific mountain might derive from Calvin's commentary ("Neque tamen existimo quempiam certem montem notari, sed ablegatum fuisse Dauidem in rupes desertas, quo illum sors duceret. [...] Hæc igitur fuit Dauidis conditio, vt in extrema necessitate eum omnes procul in deserta extruderunt").

- 21 Psalm XII, 9-10: A Pan zaś słyszac ludzi nędznych narzekanie
I płacz nieutulony, i ciężkie wzdychanie:
Buchanan, 17-18: At Dominus planctus miserorum, & dura ferentum
Aure trahens gemitus,
- 22 Psalm XII, 15-16: Panie, Ty nas zachowaj od ludzi zdradliwych,
Złych zewsząd pełno, kiedy władza jest złośliwych.
Buchanan, 29-34: Pestifera de gente hominum nos optime custos
Assere perpetuo.
Nam late impietas grassatur libera, passim
Omnia plena malis.
Quum penes iniustos ius est, & iussa malorum
Sunt metuenda bonis.
- 23 Psalm XIII, 2-3: [...] Dokąd duszę moję
Frasunki trapić będą, Ojczyce dobrotliwy?⁶⁴
Buchanan, 7-8: Quousque curæ turbidæ
Mentis quietem distrahent?
- 24 Psalm XIII, 9-11: Roświeć moje ciemności swym niogarnionym
Światłem, abych nie zasnął snem nieprzebudzonym:
Niechaj tej ze mnie nie ma nieprzyjacieli chłuby,
Buchanan, 15-17: [...] ne mors lumina
Somno perenni sopiat:
Ne iactet hostis arrogans
- 25 Psalm XIV, 11-12: Wszyscy Boga zapomnieli,
Dosyć by się sprzysiąc mieli.
Buchanan, 13-14: Omnes in scelera omnia
Coniurasse putes: [...]
- 26 Psalm XVI, 13: Pan część własności, Pan część mej nagrody,
Buchanan, 18: Mercedemque laborum cumulatam dabit affatim.
- 27 Psalm XVI, 19: Czuję ją we dnie: zgasną li też zarze,
Buchanan, 23-24: [...] monitu cuius ago dies,
Arcanisque per vmbram stimulator pectora motibus.

⁶⁴ While we find a similar reference to cares disturbing the equilibrium of the Psalmist's soul in Campensis' version ("Quousque vanis curis animam meam affligam"), the fact that Kochanowski makes these cares active rather than a passive agent, suggests that he has based his rendering on Buchanan's translation.

- 28 Psalm XVII, 5-6: Do Twego sadu ja sie uciekam,
I sprawiedliwej skażni Twej czekam.⁶⁵
- Buchanan, 5-6: Ad tuum læsus fugio tribunal,
Et fidem appello: [...]
- 29 Psalm XVII, 45-46: Niechaj nade mna władze nie maja
Ci co sie w marnym świecie kochają,
- Buchanan, 53-56: Neu sine vt me vi premat impotentum
Diuitum fastus, quibus vna cura est
Dum licet blandæ illecebras caducas
Carpere vitæ.
- 30 Psalm XVIII, 1-2: Ciebie ja, póki mi jedno żywota stanie
Miłować ze wszystkiej dusze będę, mój Panie.
- Buchanan, 1-2: Te Deus alme colam, te toto pectore amabo
Sancte parens, [...]
- 31 Psalm XVIII, 3-4: Tyś moc jest, i siła moja: Tyś jest zasłona,
Tyś zamek, i twierdza, Tyś jest moja obrona.⁶⁶
- Buchanan, 2-4: [...] mea vis, mea sola potentia, turris,
Præsidium, spes & rebus solamen in arctis.
Tu clypeus, [...]
- 32 Psalm XVIII, 13-14: A On mię wysłuchać raczył, siedząc na niebie,
I przypuścił moję smutną skargę do siebie.⁶⁷
- Buchanan, 15-17: Ille super solio residens flammantis olympi
Audit orantem. postquam peruenit in altum
Clamor, & attentas aduertit questibus aures,

⁶⁵ While there is little doubt that Kochanowski derived his rendering in line 5 from Buchanan's translation, the origin of his rendering in line 6 is less certain. It is true that line 6 differs significantly from the biblical text (cf. Calvin: "A præsentia vultus tui iudicium meum prodeat: oculi tui aspiciant rectitudines"; Vulgate: "De vultu tuo iudicium meum prodeat, oculi tui videant æquitates"), however, it also differs somewhat from Buchanan's version, although it is closer to this than to the biblical text.

⁶⁶ Kochanowski's rendering in these lines differs significantly from the biblical text, and the Vulgate text in particular (cf. Calvin: "fortitudo mea. Iehoua petra mea, munitio mea, & liberator meus: Deus meus, rupes mea, sperabo in eo: clypeus meus, & cornu salutis meæ, refugium meum"; Vulgate: "fortitudo mea, dominus firmamentum meum & refugium meum, & liberator meus. Deus meus adiutor meus, & sperabo in eum. Protector meus & cornu salutis meæ, & susceptor meus"). The fact that his rendering contains two references to God being the Psalmist's strength, and two to Him being a fortified place, strongly suggests the influence of Buchanan's translation.

⁶⁷ While the reference to heavens might have derived from Calvin's commentary ("Per nomen Templi hoc loco non sanctuarium (vt alibi sæpe) sed cælum intelligitur"), the fact that Kochanowski also mentions the Psalmist's complaint, rather than his cry, strongly suggests that the poet derived his rendering from Buchanan's translation.

- 33 Psalm XVIII, 25-26: Ale zebranych ciemności ćmę zapalały
Łyskawice: grad, i żywe węgle padały.⁶⁸
 Buchanan, 31-32: *Acribus ex oculis vibratæ spicula flammæ*
Discutiunt tristes claro fulgore tenebras.
- 34 Psalm XVIII, 29: Ruszył gromów, i wypuścił ogniste strzały,
 Buchanan, 39: *Flammiferæque volant magnum per inane sagittæ,*
- 35 Psalm XVIII, 33-34: *Miłosierną rękę swoją z wysoka ściągnął*
A mnie z pośrodku powodzi bystrych wyciągnął.
 Buchanan, 45-46: *Ille salutiferam porrexit ab æthere dextram,*
Et me de rapidis pereuntem sustulit vndis:
- 36 Psalm XVIII, 45: *Zakon Jego przed oczyma zawždy był memi,*
 Buchanan, 56-57: *Ante oculos mihi lex Domini, mihi iussa verenda*
Semper erant animo præsentia: [...]
- 37 Psalm XVIII, 51-52: [...], dobry dobremu,
Chytry przeciw obłudnemu, [...]
 Buchanan, 65-66: *Inque bonos bonus es: male cautas callidus artes*
Artibus illudis: [...]
- 38 Psalm XVIII, 65-66: Dał mi prędkość, że z jeleniem porównać mogę,
 A na skale naiwysszej postawię nogę.⁶⁹
 Buchanan, 86-87: *Me pedibus fecit celeri contendere ceruo,*
Et procul a sæuis subduxit in alta periclis:
- 39 Psalm XVIII, 87-88: Obcy ku mnie twarz chętniwą sobie zmyślają,
 Nastąpieli i zamkom już nie dowierzają.
 Buchanan, 114-115: [...], & blandis verba assentantia linguis
 Fingunt, nec tutis satis audent credere muris.

⁶⁸ Although Kochanowski's rendering of this passage differs somewhat from Buchanan's, nonetheless, it seems likely that the reference to lightning causing the clouds to blaze derives from here.

⁶⁹ It is not certain that Kochanowski derived the reference to "skale naiwysszej" in line 66 from Buchanan, for Calvin mentions inaccessible rocks ("Sensus ergo est extraordinario modo fuisse Diuinitus adiutum, vt instar capræ pernici cursu rupes inaccessas transcenderet") while Buchanan refers only to high places ("alta").

40 Psalm XIX, 1-8:

Głupia mądrości, rozumie szalony:

Gdyś na umyśle tak jest zaślepiony,
 Że Boga nie znasz, tym cielesnym okiem
Pojrzy przynamniej po niebie szrokiem.
 Jest kto, krom Boga, o kim byś rozumiał,
 Żeby albo mógł, albo więc i umiał
Ten sklep zawiesić nieustanowiony,
Złotemi zewsząd gwiazdami natkniiony?

Buchanan, 1-8:

Insanientis gens sapientiae,
Addicta mentem erroribus impiis,
Tot luce flammarum coruscum
Cerne oculis animoque ccelum.
 Hinc disce, prudens quam fuit artifex
 Qui templa olympi fornice flammeo
Suspendit, & terrae capacem
 Et pelagi sinuauit arcum.

41 Psalm XIX, 9-12:

Dzień ustawicznie nocy naszladujac,
Noc także dniowi wzajem ustępując,
Opatrzność Pańską jawnie wyznawają:
 Toż i porządne nieba powiadają.⁷⁰

Buchanan, 9-14:

Dies tenebras & tenebrae diem
Semper prementes perpetua vice,
 Non fortuito res caducas
 Ire monent per inane lapsu:
 Sed tota concors fabrica personat
Dei tuentis cuncta potentiam,

42 Psalm XIX, 13-16:

Nie ludzkim głosem: który nie jest taki,
Aby go człowiek mógł słyszeć wszelaki:
 Lecz sprawą swoją, ruchem jednostajnym,
Który wszystkiemu światu nie jest tajnym.⁷¹

Buchanan, 15-20:

Non voce quæ paucorum ad aures
Perueniat strepitu maligno.
 Nam nec remotis barbara finibus
 Gens vlla terras incolit vltimas,
Quæ nesciat certa meantis
Lege poli stabilem tenorem.

⁷⁰ This passage might also have derived from Calvin's commentary for, while both Calvin and Estienne refer to the cycle of days and nights, only Calvin speaks of the heavenly bodies declaring God's wisdom (cf. Calvin: "Neque vero dubito quin David ex ordinatis dierum & noctium vicibus, solis & lunæ stellarumque cursum & reuolutionem mirabili Dei consilio temperari doceat"; Estienne: "Dies de die, id est dies subsequens præcedentem. Vicissitudo illa dierum ac noctium, perpetuo suo cursu & ordine, Dei potentiam & sapientiam concelebrant. Nam Deus per sapientiam suam cælo certum illum & constantem motum indidat"). However, the fact that Kochanowski's manner of expressing the former is closer to Buchanan's version, and that he refers to God's providence rather than His wisdom, suggests that he based his rendering in these lines on Buchanan's translation.

⁷¹ Kochanowski's rendering in these lines appears to be a free translation of Buchanan's version, for both Calvin and Estienne interpret verse 4 (lines 13-14) as meaning that the different languages spoken on earth do not prevent the heavens from delivering their message as they would a man. Kochanowski seems to refer instead to the volume of speech, saying that while men would not be able to speak in such a way that all would be able to hear, the heavens have no such restriction placed upon them. Thus it is apparent that he has derived his rendering in lines 13-14 from Buchanan.

- 43 Psalm XIX, 19-20: Jako z łożnice nowy oblubieniec,
Niosąc na głowie świetny złoty wieniec.⁷²
- Buchanan, 26-28: [...] sponsus vti nouus
Auro refulgens, gemmeaque
Tempora conspicuus corona:
- 44 Psalm XIX, 29-32: Ale porządek, i ozdoba rzeczy
Nie tak za sobą ciągną wzrok człowieczy,
Jako pobożny zakon Pański snadnie
Duszę nawraca i myślami władnie.
- Buchanan, 37-40: Sed ordo rerum & conspicuus decor
Non sic tumentum lumina detinent,
Diuina yt arcanis habenis
Lex animos ad honesta flectit.
- 45 Psalm XIX, 41-42: Miód nie tak słodki: złoto w takiej cenie
I perły nie są, i drogie kamienie.⁷³
- Buchanan, 51-52: Iucundiora melle, & auro
Et nitidis pretiora gemmis.
- 46 Psalm XIX, 51-52: [...] o Pocieszycielu,
I Twierdzo moja, o mój Zbawicielu.
- Buchanan, 67-68: [...] o nostræ salutis
Arx, Dominus, Deus, & redemptor.
- 47 Psalm XX, 1-4: Wsiadaj z dobrym sercem, o królu cnotliwy,
I w dobrą godzinę na swój koń chętny.
Zajedź drogę śmieie nieprzyjacielowi,
A zastaw się o swój lud poganinowi.
- Buchanan, 1-3: Cuncta licet ferro late populetur & igni
Insana gentis barbaræ crudelitas,
Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito,
- 48 Psalm XXI, 1-3: Panie, za Twoją zawżdy pomocą Król bije
Nieprzyjaciela swego: przeto też użyje
Nieśmiertelnej radości: [...] ⁷⁴
- Buchanan, 1-4: Quod hoste victo rex triumphat gaudio,
Curis solutus ansiis,
Tibi id fatetur rex beatæ coelitem
Debere. [...]

⁷² While Kochanowski has joined the reference to gold to that to the crown which the bridegroom wears, it is apparent that he has based his rendering on Buchanan's translation.

⁷³ While the Vulgate text also mentions precious stones rather than repeating the reference to gold, the fact that Kochanowski places honey in the first place in rendering this verse indicates that he has based his translation on Buchanan rather than on the Vulgate text.

⁷⁴ The reference to the defeat of David's enemies, and the assertion that this is due to God's assistance suggests the influence of Buchanan's translation. However, it might also derive from Campensis' translation: "Domine propter robur imissum gaudet rex: et quia tu author illi victoriæ fuisti, exultat serio".

- 49 Psalm XXI, 6: W żadnej rzeczy odmiotu nigdy nie odnosił.⁷⁵
 Buchanan, 7-8: Nullam repulsam, voce quum te supplice
 Rogaret, vnquam adhuc tulit.
- 50 Psalm XXI, 19-21: Jako w ognistym piecu płómiennie pałają,
 Tak oni w Twoim gniewie nieżnośnym zgorają.
I z korzeniem je wyrwiesz: [...] ⁷⁶
 Buchanan, 29-34: Ceu flamma clausis æstuans fornacibus
 Antiqua syluæ brachia
Vorat, furoris sic nefarios
 Afflatus hostes hauriet.
A stirpe totam demetes propaginem
 Semenque gentis impiæ.
- 51 Psalm XXI, 25: Bo nawet tył podadzą sromotnie, [...] ⁷⁷
 Buchanan, 39-41: Te persequente pallidi in fugam ruent,
Inhonesto tergo vulnera
Ferent: [...]
- 52 Psalm XXII, 9-11: Ale o Panie, Panie dobrotliwy,
Tyś on mieszkanię, i stróż niewątpliwy
Miasta świętego, [...]
 Buchanan, 9-10: Tu sanctus ille ciuitatis incola es
Sanctæ, [...]
- 53 Psalm XXII, 29-31: Nie chceżę mię dziś w ostatniej potrzebie,
 Mój wieczny Panie, odrzucać od siebie.
Śmierć przed oczyma i nieżnośne męki:⁷⁸
 Buchanan, 35-38: [...] vltimo in discrimine
 Iam ne recede longius.
 Discrimen instat vltimum: mortis metu
 Cessere amici territi.

⁷⁵ While the substance of what is said in these lines does not differ from the biblical text, Kochanowski's use of the word "odmiot" appears to be closer to Buchanan's "repulsa", than to "non negasti" or "non fraudasti" in the biblical text.

⁷⁶ While both the Hebrew and Vulgate texts make reference to a furnace ("clibanum ignis"), Buchanan has changed this image somewhat. It is his image of a flame burning in a fiery furnace which is found in Kochanowski's rendering, although he has omitted the Scot's image of this fire devouring a branch. Cf. Calvin: "Pones eos tanquam in fornacem ignis in tempore iræ tuæ Iehoua: in ira sua opprimet eos & consumet eos ignis"; Pagninus: "Pones eos vt clibanum ignis in tempore iræ tuæ: Iehouah in furore suo disperdet eos, & consumet eos ignis"; Vulgate: "Pones eos vt clibanum ignis in tempore vultus tui, dominus in ira sua conturbabit eos, & deuorabit eos ignis".

As to the reference to God plucking them out by the root, this only occurs in Buchanan's rendering.

⁷⁷ It seems likely that Kochanowski's reference to shameful flight derives from Buchanan's rendering, where it is said that David's enemies flee before God and bear shameful wounds on their backs.

⁷⁸ While Kochanowski's rendering adheres to the original text more closely than does Buchanan (Calvin: Ne procul discedes a me, quia tribulatio propinqua est, quia nemo auxilium ferens; Vulgate: [...] ne discessis a me. Quoniam tribulatio proxima est, quoniam non est qui adiuuet), nevertheless his manner of expression in line 29 and the reference to death in line 31 strongly suggests that he made use of the Scot's paraphrase here.

- 54 Psalm XXII, 44: Grób swój przed sobą widzę otworzony.
 Buchanan, 50: Iam sto sepulchri ad aggerem.⁷⁹
- 55 Psalm XXII, 48-50: Wszystki me kości przez skórę zliczyli.
Myśl nacieszywszy, pasą oczy swoje,
Na niesłychane patrzeć meki moje.⁸⁰
 Buchanan, 55-60: Et ossa numerant, ossa tralucentia
Per corporis tensi cutem.
Tormenta postquam cuncta consumpsit furor,
Animus adhuc ira tumens
Se pascit: oculos satiat, & fruitur meis
Læto in malis spectaculo.
- 56 Psalm XXII, 66: Przeto Go będę na wsytek świat głosił,⁸¹
 Buchanan, 87-88: Ergo per oras vltimas mundi, tuas
Sonabo laudes: [...]
- 57 Psalm XXII, 73: Świat się obaczy: [...]⁸²
 Buchanan, 99-100: Ergo excitata tam nouo spectaculo
Tellus [...]
- 58 Psalm XXII, 77-78: Bogacze ziemscy za stół Jego siędą,
I dobrowolnie hołdować Mu będą.
 Buchanan, 108-111: Rerum potentes illius
Mensæ accubabunt, & sacri conuiuii
Dapibus referti sub iugum
Cedent volentes. [...]

⁷⁹ In his translation of Buchanan's Psalms (Glasgow, 1797) Andrew Waddel explains this phrase in a footnote to the text: "Ad aggerem sepulchri. That is, *at the very grave's mouth*. Probably our author alludes to the ordinary manner of burying, where the earth that is dug up, in opening a grave, is commonly heaped up on the very side of it".

Although Campensis' translation also contains a reference to burial ("et tandem in puluere, quemadmodum mortui solent, sepelies me"), nonetheless, Kochanowski's reference to the Psalmist seeing his grave lying open appears to derive from Buchanan's version.

⁸⁰ This rendering could equally have derived from Calvin's commentary to verse 18, although it bears a greater similarity to Buchanan's paraphrase. Cf. Calvin, v. 18: "[...] nempe vt quærat David, in corpore macie confecto ossa apparere: mox enim adiungit, hostes voluptatem capere ex tali spectaculo. Concinne autem fluit contextus, tam inexplabilem esse hostium sæuitiam, vt miserum hominem languore confectum, & quasi tabidum cernentes, oculos tamen tam tristi spectaculo pascant."

⁸¹ While the Hebrew text refers to a congregation or assembly in both clauses of this verse, the fact that Kochanowski has replaced "congregatio" or "cœtu" in the first verse with a reference to telling God's glory to the whole world strongly suggests the influence of Buchanan.

It should be noted that Kochanowski's rendering contains a logical continuation absent in the biblical text, for he uses the third person pronoun in both clauses of verse 26, while the biblical text changes from the second to the third person in the second clause.

⁸² Kochanowski's choice of verb might also have been influenced by Campensis' translation: "Consyderabunt hæc et conuertentur ad dominum cuncti fines terræ" (cf. Calvin: "Recordabuntur, & conuertentur ad Iehouam cuncti fines terræ"; Vulgate: "Reminiscentur & conuertentur ad dominum, vniuersi fines terræ").

- 59 Psalm XXIII, 5-6: Wrócił mię z dziwnych obłędliwości
Na ścieżkę jawnej sprawiedliwości:
- Buchanan, 13-16: Saltus quum peteret mens vaga deuios,
Errorum teneras illecebras sequens,
Retraxit miserans denuo me bonus
Pastor iustitiæ in viam.
- 60 Psalm XXIII, 13-14: Posadziłeś mię za stół kosztowny:
Stąd nieprzyjacieli boleje główny:⁸³
- Buchanan, 23-24: [...] Conficit æmulos,
Dum spectant, dolor anxius.
- 61 Psalm XXIV, 11-12: Temi stopniami góry świętej dostapiemi,
I twarz Pańska (da Pan Bóg) na oko ujrzemy.⁸⁴
- Buchanan, 17-18: Hæc vera est pietas, hæc itur ad æthera, veri
Sic intueri numinis vultum licet.
- 62 Psalm XXV, 29-32: Tam troski miejsca niewdzięczne nie maja,
Ale rozkoszy wieczne przebywaja:
Tam dziatek mnostwo podpora starości,
I pewny dziedzic pięknych ośiadłości.
- Buchanan, 54-58: Securus animus anxio procul metu
Cunctis fruatur affluentur copiis:
Stirpisque series longa firmabit domum,
Genusque multa floridum propagine
Opes paternas ad nepotes transferet.
- 63 Psalm XXV, 47-48: [...] niech się zły nie śmieje,
Zem ja położył w Tobie swe nadzieje.⁸⁵
- Buchanan, 79-82: [...] tu protege
Eius salutem ab hostium ludibrio
Omnem salutis qui locauit spem suæ
In te [...]

⁸³ This might also derive from Campensis's translation: "Instrue in conspectu meo mensam e regione persecutorum meorum, ut videant & doleant". However, Campensis' use of the imperative in translating the first clause of this verse means that it is more probable that Kochanowski derived this detail from Buchanan's version.

⁸⁴ These two lines differ significantly from the Hebrew and Vulgate texts (cf. Calvin: "Hæc generatio quærentium eum, inquirentium faciem tuam, Iacob. Selah"; Vulgate: "Hæc est generatio quærentium eum: quærentium faciem dei Iacob"). The reference to the godly actually reaching God (who is represented as sitting on Mount Sion in Kochanowski's version, and in heaven in Buchanan's rendering), and looking upon His face, clearly derives from Buchanan's paraphrase.

⁸⁵ While Kochanowski's rendering adheres more closely to the biblical text than does Buchanan's, preserving the first person pronoun (cf. Calvin: "ne pudefiam, quia speraui in te"; Pagninus: "ne confundar, quoniam speraui in te"; Vulgate: "non erubescam quoniam speraui in te"), nonetheless, the Psalmist's entreaty that the ungodly should not laugh at him, suggests the influence of Buchanan's paraphrase.

- 64 Psalm XXV, 51-52: Niechaj nad sobą Twa obronę znają,
Którzy Twych ustaw świętych przestrzegają.⁸⁶
Buchanan, 84-85: Gens quæ tuarum iussa legum amplectitur,
Fac vndeque tuta sit te vindice.
- 65 Psalm XXVI, 5-6: Włóż w ogień serce moje, jako kruszec złoty
Pławia, tak i Ty sprobuj mej cnoty.
Buchanan, 9-12: [...] & penetralia
Scrutare cordis, cæcæque sensuum
Arcana, fusum ceu calidis focis
Explorat aurum callidus artifex:
- 66 Psalm XXVI, 19: Ciągnie mnie chwały Twojej przybytek do siebie:⁸⁷
Buchanan, 35-36: [...] absentem retrahunt tuæ
Quæ templa celant pignora gloriæ.
- 67 Psalm XXVI, 21-22: Nie dopuszczaj mi umrzeć w tej nieszczęsnej ziemi,
Miedzy pohańcy niepobożnemi,
Buchanan, 37-38: Hæc ossa tellus ne sine vt obruat
Inter cruentos barbara barbaros,
- 68 Psalm XXVII, 1-4: Pan ogniem swojej światłości
Roświeca moje ciemności:
Pan strożem mego żywota,
Skąd sie ja mam bać kłopotu?⁸⁸
Buchanan, 1-4: Deus in tenebris quum mihi præluceat,
Vitamque muniat meam,
Quæ vis aperta terreat me? quæ mihi
Fraus cæca sit formidini?

⁸⁶ These lines differ significantly from the biblical text, which contains a prayer for Israel to be delivered (Calvin: "Redime Deus Israel ex omnibus tribulationibus eius"), but agree almost exactly with Buchanan's rendering.

⁸⁷ This reference to the temple, the dwelling-place of God's glory, drawing David to it while in exile strongly suggests the influence of Buchanan's rendering. For, while the biblical text contains a statement that David loved the temple, and the Psalmist in Campensis' translation states that he desired to live there, only Buchanan refers to him being drawn to it.

⁸⁸ There is a parallelism in the biblical text which has not been preserved in Kochanowski's rendering. This verse consists of two parts, each of which contains a statement and a question (cf. Calvin: "Iehoua lux mea & salus mea, a quo timebo? Iehoua fortitudo vitæ meæ, a quo trepidabo?"; Vulgate: "Dominus illuminatio mea & salus mea, quem timebo? Dominus protector vitæ meæ, a quo trepidabo?"). That Kochanowski has joined the two statements together suggests the influence of Buchanan, although it should be noted that the Scot retains the two questions present in the biblical text, while Kochanowski's rendering contains only one question. The influence of Buchana is further suggested by the reference to God illuminating the Psalmist's darkness.

- 69 Psalm XXVII, 7-8: Sami źli ludzie upadli
W sidle, które na mię kładli.⁸⁹
 Buchanan, 7-8: Dolosa letho quæ tetenderunt meo
Ipsi incidere in retia.
- 70 Psalm XXVII, 9-10: Niech widzę wojska zniesione,
Niech widzę drzewa złożone.
 Buchanan, 9-10: Si comminentur castra, si minacibus
Infesta telis agmina,
- 71 Psalm XXVII, 19-20: Uwiódł mię, i stawił w cale
Na niedostapionej skale.⁹⁰
 Buchanan, 20-22: [...] & periculis
 Procul remotum, rupis abruptæ velut
 In arce positum, muniet:
- 72 Psalm XXVII, 27: K Tobie myśli me wzdychaja,⁹¹
 Buchanan, 29: Te mens anhelat, [...]
- 73 Psalm XXVII, 33-34: Rodzice zapamiętali,
Przyjaciele zaniedbali.⁹²
 Buchanan, 37-38: Me chari amici, me propinqui, me pater,
 Me blanda mater liquerat:

⁸⁹ Kochanowski's reference to David's enemies falling into the snares which they had set for him (cf. Calvin: "in me corruerunt, & ceciderunt"; Campensis: "in ipso conatu inferiores facti, corruerunt"; Pagninus: "ipsi impeerunt, & ceciderunt"; Vulgate: "ipsi infirmati sunt & ceciderunt") suggests the influence of Buchanan's rendering.

⁹⁰ Campensis also refers to the rock being inaccessible ("et veluti super petram hostibus meis inaccessam, collocaret me"). However, the fact that Kochanowski states that the Psalmist will be set on an inaccessible rock, rather than being placed somewhere safe like on an inaccessible rock, suggests that he is following Buchanan's rendering in these lines.

⁹¹ Although Calvin states elsewhere that "dico" can be used to indicate not only actual words but also thoughts, there is no precedence in the biblical text for this reference to the Psalmist's thoughts sighing for God (cf. Calvin: "Tibi dixit cor meum, Quærite faciem meam, faciem tuam Iehoua quæram"; Vulgate: "Tibi dixit cor meum, exquisiuit te facies mea, faciem tuam domine requiram"). Rather, it appears to derive from Buchanan's rendering.

⁹² This reference to friends, which does not occur in the biblical text, probably derives from Buchanan's rendering.

- 74 Psalm XXVII, 37-40: Zjaw mi, Panie, drogi swoje,
Nawiedź mię na ścieżki Twoje,
Z których by zepchnąć mej nogi
Nie mógł nieprzyjaciół srogi.⁹³
- Buchanan, 41-44: Parens benigne me vias doce tuas,
Rectaque deduc semita:
Ne vis metusque ab hoste me deterritum
De calle recti detrahat.
- 75 Psalm XXVII, 47-48: Że ma wynić z tych trudności,
A użyć jeszcze radości.
- Buchanan, 51-52: [...] post labores anxios
Mox affuturum gaudium.
- 76 Psalm XXVIII, 9: Nie kładź mię w poczet z ludźmi nieprawemi,⁹⁴
- Buchanan, 9: Ne me connumera coetibus impiis,
- 77 Psalm XXIX, 5-8: Głos Pański deszcze leje, głos Pański grom srogi,
I okrutne pobudza na powietrzu trwogi:
Pan na morzu podnosi straszne nawałności,
Głos Pański wielkiej władze, i wielkiej możności.
- Buchanan, 9-14: Cuius liquentes vox grauida pluit
De nube rores, terrificos ciet
Caelo tumultus cum tonitru, maris
Turbata ventis concitat æquora;
Vox dignitatis plena, nec irritæ
Vnquam ad patrandum iussa potentia,
- 78 Psalm XXIX, 10: A wielkimi górami tak snadnie obraca:⁹⁵
- Buchanan, 17-19: Seu vincta saxis saxa reuellere,
Notisque montes sedibus erutos
Versare, [...]
- 79 Psalm XXIX, 13-14: Na głos Pański z obłoków ognie wyskakują,
Pustynie drżą Arabskie, [...] ⁹⁶
- Buchanan, 21-22: Ad vocis ictum nubibus exilit
Elictus ignis, tesqua Arabum tremunt:

⁹³ While Kochanowski's rendering differs somewhat from Buchanan's in lines 39-40, nonetheless, this prayer that the Psalmist's enemies should not be able to deflect him from the true path agrees in substance with the Scot's translation.

⁹⁴ Kochanowski's rendering might also have derived from Campensis' translation: "Ne me vnus e numero impiorum et flagitiorum fieri sinas".

⁹⁵ There is no corresponding reference in the biblical text. We can be certain that Kochanowski has derived his reading from Buchanan's paraphrase.

⁹⁶ That Kochanowski refers to clouds in line 13 and calls the desert "Arabskie" in line 14 suggests that he is following Buchanan's rendering. (Cf. Calvin: "Vox Iehouæ, excidens flammas ignis. Vox Iehouæ contremiscere facit desertum, contremiscere facit Iehoua desertum Cades"; Vulgate: "Vox domini intercidentis flammam ignis, vox domini concutientis desertum, & commouebit dominus desertum Cades").

- 80 Psalm XXIX, 19: Tenże serce, i siłę ludu swemu daje,⁹⁷
 Buchanan, 33-34: Te dante vires, non opibus feros
Horremus hostes, non numero grau
- 81 Psalm XXX, 7-8: Dodałeś mi swej pomocy,
 Żem nie ujrzeć wiecznej nocy.
 Buchanan, 11-12: Nec inferum sub nocte longa
 Et tenebris iaceo sepulchri.
- 82 Psalm XXX, 13: Gniew Jego nietrwalszy piany,
 Buchanan, 17-18: Vanescit iræ vindicis impetus
Bullæ fugacis more: [...]
- 83 Psalm XXX, 27-28: Co za korzyść, mocny Boże,
Mego zginienia być może?
 Buchanan, 41: Quis mortis vsus nostræ erit? [...]
- 84 Psalm XXX, 37-38: Przeto Cię wesółą wszędzie
Lutnia moja wielbić będzie,
 Buchanan, 53-54: Te semper ergo carmina, te lyræ
Nostræ sonabunt: [...]
- 85 Psalm XXXI, 15-16: Ja swą nadzieję kładę w Twej, Panie, litości,
 A Ty mię zawsze cieszyć raczysz w mej trudności.⁹⁸
 Buchanan, 25-28: Inter labores asperos
 Lumen tuæ clementiæ
 Fulgens, repente turbidum
Perfudit animum gaudio.
- 86 Psalm XXXI, 35: W Twojej ręce są lata, i bieg mego wieka,⁹⁹
 Buchanan, 57-58: Tu fila vitæ temperas
Meæ, regisque tempora:

⁹⁷ There is no reference in the biblical text to God giving the people courage, which appears to derive from Buchanan's paraphrase.

⁹⁸ While the tense of the verb in the first clause of line 15 agrees with Pagninus' translation ("at ego in Iehoua spero"), the reference to God gladdening the Psalmist is similar to Buchanan's rendering.

⁹⁹ That Kochanowski's rendering contains two details about the duration and course of the Psalmist's life, while the biblical text contains only one, might indicate the influence of Buchanan's version. It should be noted, however, that Kochanowski has reversed the order in which the details occur.

- 87 Psalm XXXII, 5-8: Dokądem tań swoich nieprawości,
 Ledwem mógł nosić swe mizerne kości:
 A niewidome sumnienia szczypanie
 Budziło we mnie jawne narzekanie.
- Buchanan, 9-12: Donec fouebam sub tacito sinu
 Morbum, solutis languibus ossibus
 Artus trahebam, luctificus dolor
 Questum ciebat non patiens tegi.
- 88 Psalm XXXII, 11-12: Gorzałem w ogniu: ledwe tak gorają
 Śloneczne koła, kiedy Lwa migają.¹⁰⁰
- Buchanan, 18-20: [...] sic macie dolor
 Siccabat artus, messis vt Africae
 Cancrī per æstum mitius ardeat.
- 89 Psalm XXXII, 25-26: To były ku mnie, Boże mój łaskawy,
 Twe słowa: [...]¹⁰¹
- Buchanan, 34: Inquis: [...]
- 90 Psalm XXXIII, 6: Trąbcie Mu w głośną trąbę miedzianą.
- Buchanan, 10: Læti clangite buccina.
- 91 Psalm XXXIII, 15-16: Gdzie wieczór słońce gaśnie, gdzie wschodzi po ranu,
 Wszyscy niechaj się kłaniają Panu.
- Buchanan, 25-28: Hunc & occasus metuant & ortus:
 Hunc vnum Dominum colat
 Quisquis extremos vbicunque fines
 Terræ aut æquoris accolit:
- 92 Psalm XXXIII, 23-24: Nader szczęśliwy naród, z którym Pan przestawa,¹⁰²
 Który dziedzictwem swoim wyznawa.
- Buchanan, 43-44: Quos sibi excepit, propriamque fortem
 Quos dici voluit suam.
- 93 Psalm XXXIII, 29-30: Widzi i sprawy nasze, i myśli zamknięte,
 Bo przezeń serca nasze stworzone.
- Buchanan, 47-48: [...] labores
 Et curas hominum videt.

¹⁰⁰ While Kochanowski's rendering in these lines differs somewhat from Buchanan's paraphrase, the fact that both renderings contain astrological references suggests that he has modelled his rendering on the Scot's paraphrase.

¹⁰¹ Kochanowski and Buchanan both indicate the change of speaker clearly, something which does not happen in the biblical text. While Campensis also indicates that God is speaking ("inquit dominus"), his use of the third person pronoun rather than apostrophe, suggests that this is not the source of Kochanowski's rendering.

¹⁰² It is far from certain that Kochanowski derived his rendering from Buchanan here, although both stress that this is something which God has chosen to do.

- 94 Psalm XXXIII, 33-34: Często czasu przygody, czasu strasznej trwogi
Nie uniósł pana koń wiatronogi.
Buchanan, 57-58: Sæpe spem fallit præeuntis euros
Bellatoris equi fuga.
- 95 Psalm XXXIV, 1-2: Jakokolwiek szczęście ku mnie się postawi,
Bądź radości, bądź mię frasunku nabawi.¹⁰³
Buchanan, 1-2: Seu læta fors me fouerit, seu tristior
Vexarit omni tempore,
- 96 Psalm XXXIV, 27-28: Słuchaj mię, kto pragnie długiego żywota,
A chce wieku swego zażyć bez kłopotu.¹⁰⁴
Buchanan, 33-34: Quicunque curis liberam & longam cupis
Vitam beatus ducere,
- 97 Psalm XXXIV, 37-38: Wołał sprawiedliwy, a Pan ucho zskłonił,
I w każdej przygodzie znacznie go obronił,¹⁰⁵
Buchanan, 43-44: Iustum inuocantem Dominus audit, omnibus
Eum expedit periculis.
- 98 Psalm XXXV, 4: Zastaw o mię: [...]¹⁰⁶
Buchanan, 2: Et patrocínio protege me tuo:
- 99 Psalm XXXV, 13-14: Jako gwałtowny wichur niezgoniony
Proch po powietrzu niesie: [...]¹⁰⁷
Buchanan, 13-14: Vt sæuus boreas leuem
Rapiat præcipiti turbine puluerem:

¹⁰³ There is no corresponding passage in the biblical text.

¹⁰⁴ It is apparent that Kochanowski is not following the biblical text in these lines, for both the Hebrew and Vulgate texts interpret this as a question (Vulgate: "Quis est homo qui vult vitam, diligit dies videre bonos?"). While it is possible that Kochanowski derived his rendering from Campensis ("Quisquis cupis fieri longæuus, et multis annis viuere feliciter"), it is closer to Buchanan's version.

¹⁰⁵ While the substance of what is said does not differ from the biblical text, the fact that Kochanowski speaks of the just man (singular) rather than just men (plural) suggests that he is following Buchanan here.

¹⁰⁶ That the Psalmist in Kochanowski's rendering calls upon God not to plead his case, but to protect him, suggests the influence of Buchanan's translation.

¹⁰⁷ While the substance of what is said in these lines agrees with the biblical text (Calvin: "Sint quasi palea coram vento, & Angelus lehouæ impellat eos"; Vulgate: "Fiant tanquam puluis ante faciem venti, & angelus domini coartans eos"), Kochanowski's simile is closer in form to Buchanan's rendering.

- 100 Psalm XXXV, 22-24: Bodajże sie w swych sieciach połowili,
Bodaj sie w tychże dołach potopili,
Które kopali.¹⁰⁸
- Buchanan, 24-26: [...] suis cassibus hæreant:
Et factam exitium in meum
Cæci & præcipites in foueam ruant.
- 101 Psalm XXXV, 29-30: [...] Ty z rąk srogich
Nędzne wyrwasz.
- Buchanan, 35-36: Vexantemque opis indigos
Frangit sæuitiam vindice dextera.
- 102 Psalm XXXV, 40-42: Tak przyjaciela przyjaciel żałuje,
Tak brata płacze brat, tak lamentuje
Syn po swej matce.¹⁰⁹
- Buchanan, 49-53: Sic sincerus amici amor
Sub chari interitum luget amicali:
Sic fratrem gemit vnicum
Frater: sic pietas anxia fili
Maternum ad tumulum dolet.
- 103 Psalm XXXV, 49-50: [...] pozbaw mię tych
Pośmiewców kiedy: [...]
- Buchanan, 63: Arce hoc ludibrium, [...]
- 104 Psalm XXXVI, 6: Nie ma tam nigdy miejsca żadna zdrowa rada.¹¹⁰
- Buchanan, 11-12: [...] respuis
Auribus ingratis qui potiora monent.

¹⁰⁸ Kochanowski's rendering differs from the biblical text in that he makes mention of both nets and a pit, while the Vulgate text says of these traps that they were set by other people (Vulgate: "Veniat illi laqueus quem ignorat, & captio quam abscondit apprehendat eum, & in laqueum cadat in ipsum"), and the Hebrew text refers only to nets (cf. Calvin: "Veniat ei tumultus quem ignorat, & rete eius quod abscondit apprehendat eum, cum tumultu cadat in illud"; Pagninus: "Veniat ei contritio *quam* non cognoscit, & rete ipsius quod abscondit, capiat eum, in desolationem ipsam cadat").

While the substance of what is said in these lines agrees with Campensis' rendering ("[...] et rete illud quod expandit in perniciem meam irretiat ipsum: in eandem illam foueam quam mihi parauerat, incidat ipse"), the fact that Kochanowski renders this verse in the plural rather than the singular suggests that he is following Buchanan here.

¹⁰⁹ While the details in these lines are the same as those enumerated in the Hebrew text (the Vulgate text omits the reference to someone grieving for their mother), Kochanowski's manner of expression is closer to Buchanan's rendering than to the prose translations. Cf. Calvin: "Quasi socius, quasi frater mihi esset, ambulauit, sicut lugens matrem pullatus humiliavi me"; Campensis: "Tanquam si summus amicus, imo frater quibus eorum fuisset mihi, omnia humanitatis officia exhibui eis in aduersis: non aliter quam qui matrem lugent, pullatus et capite demisso incessi"; Pagninus: "Tanquam amicus, tanquam frater meus esset, sic ambulabam: tanquam lugens matrem, pullatus humiliabam me".

¹¹⁰ Although Buchanan renders this Psalm as an apostrophe while Kochanowski, adhering to the structure of the original text, retains the third person, nonetheless, this reference to the impious man rejecting good advice and continuing to act wickedly appears to derive from the Scot's paraphrase.

- 105 Psalm XXXVI, 10-11: [...] góry przerównała
Sprawiedliwość: [...] ¹¹¹
- Buchanan, 21-22: Longe niuosis montium fastigiis
Altior est, [...]
- 106 Psalm XXXVII, 6-7: [...] będą niewatpliwie
Twoje na ziemi lata przedłużone, ¹¹²
- Buchanan, 9-12: At tu fiducia
Incumbe rectis artibus:
Diuque terram vt incolas
Donabit, ac te nutriet.
- 107 Psalm XXXVII, 13: Jasna jest zorza, [...]
- Buchanan, 21: Illustris auroræ vt iubar
- 108 Psalm XXXVII, 31-32: A Pan, na niebie siedząc, z niego szydzi,
Bo upad nad nim nieuchronny widzi.
- Buchanan, 49-52: Hæc cernit ex alto Deus,
Minasque ridet irritas:
Quippe imminentem vertici
Cladem scelesto prospicit.
- 109 Psalm XXXVII, 39-40: Bo niepobożnych władza starta będzie,
A Pan obrońcą swoich wiernych wszędzie.
- Buchanan, 65-68: Male parta iustus arbiter
Disperget, & potentiam
Franget scelesti: dextera
Iustum sua tuebitur.
- 110 Psalm XXXVII, 46-48: A którykolwiek Panu sie przeciwi,
Jako tój tłustej ofiary zniszczeje,
A prosto z dymem zaraz wywietrzeje.
- Buchanan, 79-80: Adeps opimæ vt victimæ
Vanescit in fumos leues.
- 111 Psalm XXXVII, 50: Dobry darnie, a przedsię mu zostaje:
- Buchanan, 82-84: [...] at iusto sua
De sorte superat paupere
Quod donet indigentibus.

¹¹¹ This might also derive from Campensis' rendering: "Iustitia tua magnitudine superat montes altissimos".

¹¹² This reference to the pious dwelling on earth for a long time might also derive from Calvin's commentary to verse 3 ("Cæterum his verbis diuturnum fore illorum statum pronuntiat: [...] [...] *Emunah* enim non solum Hebræis est veritas aut fides, sed etiam firma diuturnitas") or from Campensis' rendering ("vt terram inhabites longo tempore").

- 112 Psalm XXXVII, 64: Że wszystko pełna potomstwu zostawi.
 Buchanan, 99-100: Seræ tamen propagini
 Non larga deest opulentia.
- 113 Psalm XXXVII, 67: Bo sprawiedliwość wielce Pan miłuje,¹¹³
 Buchanan, 105: Deus æquitatem diligit,
- 114 Psalm XXXVII, 81-84: Ufaj ty Panu, a swe wszystkie sprawy
 Tak sprawuj, jako Pańskie brzmia ustawy,
 Ten cię wyniesie, Ten cię ubogaci,
 I złe przed twemi oczyma zatraci.¹¹⁴
 Buchanan, 121-123: Spem colloca in Deo, Dei
 Sectare leges: & dabit
 Diues potensque [...]
- 115 Psalm XXXVII, 87: Obejrziałem sie, [...]
 Buchanan, 129: Specto repente: [...]
- 116 Psalm XXXVIII, 9-10: Blizny znowu mych dawnych ran sie odnowiły,
 Zatajone plugastwa znowu przystąpiły,
 Buchanan, 17-18: Veteris cicatrix vulneris recruduit,
 Vomitque tabem luridam.
- 117 Psalm XXXVIII, 29-32: Panie, w Tobie nadzieję kładę Bogu swoim,
 Ty bądź łaskaw mej prośbie: a nie daj mie moim
 Nieprzyjaciołom w pośmiech: w tym oni lubują,
 Gdy moje nogi namniej szwankują.
 Buchanan, 45-50: In te reposita est spes mea: ô rerum potens
 Rector benignus annue.
 Ne risus hosti sim superbo, qui meis
 Insultat insolens malis:
 Qui, si vacillent lubrico lapsu pedes,
 Læto triumphat gaudio.
- 118 Psalm XXXVIII, 42: Nie racz mię odstępować w ostatniej trudności:
 Buchanan, 63-64: Tu ne recede longius, neu desera
 Periculis in vltimis.

¹¹³ Kochanowski's reference to God's love of righteousness might equally derive from Calvin's commentary to verse 28 ("Notanda est hæc confirmatio proximæ sententiæ, quia sumitur ex altiore principio, nempe, Deo placere iustitiam & rectitudinem") or from Campensis' rendering ("Amat enim dominus quod æquum est").

¹¹⁴ While the exhortation for the godly to adhere to God's laws might derive from Campensis' rendering ("et viue secundum præscripta illius"), the reference to God enriching those who do so clearly indicates that Kochanowski is following Buchanan here.

- 119 Psalm XXXIX, 6-8: Jam swój język tak hamował:
Że, nie chcąc rzec słowa złego,
Nie mówiłem i dobrego.
- Buchanan, 5-8: Linguæ obseruavi claustra fræno: pertinax
 Obmutui silentio.
Ac temere nequid os mali profunderet,
Verbis bonis clausi exitum.
- 120 Psalm XXXIX, 13-14: Prze Bóg, Panie mój, długo li
Człowiek będzie w tej niewoli?¹¹⁵
- Buchanan, 15-16: Quando euolabo liber, hoc molestiæ
 Fastidiosus e carcere.
- 121 Psalm XXXIX, 17: Ty żywiesz czas nieprzeżyty,¹¹⁶
- Buchanan, 17: Tu clausa nullo sæcla degis termino,
- 122 Psalm XXXIX, 19-20: Lata mojej śmiertelności,
Mniej niżli nic ku wieczności.
- Buchanan, 19-20: At nos quod æui viuimus pene est nihil,
 Ac pene brevius quam nihil,
- 123 Psalm XXXIX, 30: Kto mnie w nieszczęściu wspomůže?
- Buchanan, 29-30: [...] quis laboranti feret
Opem? [...]
- 124 Psalm XXXIX, 32: Wszystka jest nadzieja w Tobie.¹¹⁷
- Buchanan, 31: Spes omnis in te: [...]

¹¹⁵ This question finds no corresponding passage in the biblical text.

¹¹⁶ The contrast between the mortality of man and God's eternity is never stated explicitly in the biblical text. Thus it is apparent that Kochanowski is following Buchanan here.

¹¹⁷ This could also have derived from the Hebrew text. Cf. Calvin, v. 8: "[...] spes mea ad te est"; Pagninus: "[...] spes mea in te est"; Vulgate: "[...] substantia mea apud te est".

- 125 Psalm XXXIX, 37-40: Nieprzyjacieli mnie strofował,
A jam język swój hamował:
Wiedząc, że to złorzeczenie
Było Twoje nawiedzenie.¹¹⁸
- Buchanan, 35-38: Hostis proterui lingua me quum turpibus
Proscinderet conuitiis,
Obmutui: iræ vindices poenas tuæ
Has esse gnarus scilicet,
- 126 Psalm XXXIX, 54-56: Póki nie przyjdzie wychodzić
 Na drogę, z której człowieka
 Już nie ujrzeć aż do wieku.¹¹⁹
- Buchanan, 57-58: Mortis priusquam, reditus vnde non patet,
 Transmiserit me ianua.
- 127 Psalm XL, 6: I drogę, gdzie miał chodzić, objawił.
- Buchanan, 8: Monstrauit facilem qua graderer viam.¹²⁰
- 128 Psalm XL, 9-11: Niechaj się na mnie Pańskim sądom przypatrują,
Którzy fortunie rząd przypisują
Wszystkich na świecie rzeczy: [...]
- Buchanan, 13-15: Hæc cernant rapidæ qui violentiæ
Fati vel dubiis casibus imputant
Euenta, [...]
- 129 Psalm XL, 18-19: I znaków chęci przeciw człowieku.
Myśl nie ogarnie, język nie wymówi tego,
- Buchanan, 21-24: In nos sancte parens quot vigilantia
Et quam mira tuæ pignora suppetunt!
Quæ nec mens acie cernere languida
Possit, nec numero lingua retexere.

¹¹⁸ Kochanowski's rendering contains a certain similarity to Buchanan's version, in which it is said that the abuse heaped on the Psalmist by his enemies (referred to immediately before these lines) is divine punishment. Kochanowski uses the verb "nawiedzać" elsewhere (Psalm XXXVIII, 35) to refer to Divine retribution being visited on the Psalmist. The biblical text omits this reference to the Psalmist's enemies, nor does it mention divine punishment (cf. Calvin: "Obmutui, non aperiam os meum, quia tu fecisti"; Campensis: "Obmutui non aperturus os meum, quod scirem ad exercendam patientiam abs te immitti hæc mihi"; Vulgate: "Obmutui & non aperui os meum, quoniam tu fecisti").

¹¹⁹ Although the image presented in these lines differs slightly from Buchanan's version, which refers to the Psalmist passing through the gates of death, nonetheless, it is apparent that Kochanowski's expansion of the reference to the Psalmist leaving this world and passing into the next owes something to the Scot's translation (cf. Calvin: "antequam abeam, & non sim"; Campensis: "priusquam migrare cogam nunquam rediturus huc"; Vulgate: "priusquam abeam, & amplius non ero").

¹²⁰ This might also derive from Estienne's note to Pagninus' translation ("Direxit confirmavit. corroboravit. vel, apparuit. i. viam mihi strauit per quam sine offensione graderer").

- 130 Psalm XL, 27: Opowiadałem światu sprawiedliwość Twoją,¹²¹
 Buchanan, 37-40: Famam iustitiæ per populos tuæ
 Late præco fero: nec labiis meis
 Nec linguæ requies, omnibus vt tua
Terris (ipse vides) nota sit æquitas.
- 131 Psalm XL, 34: Badźże mym stróżem w dzień niebezpieczny.¹²²
 Buchanan, 47-48: Obsessumque malis innumeris tua
 Me rerum genitor protege dextera.
- 132 Psalm XL, 35-36: Meki mię, których liczby nie masz, ogarnęły,
 Troski mię, których nie przejrzyć, zięły.
 Buchanan, 49-51: Me pœnæ, capitis qui superent pilos,
 Omni ex parte premunt: quas neque luminis
In promptu est acie nosse: [...]
- 133 Psalm XL, 43-44: Niech idą wspak ich rady, niech się jawnie wstydzą,
Którzy nieszczęście me radzi widzą.¹²³
 Buchanan, 59-60: Infamem referant consilii exitum
Nostris qui capiunt lætitiā e malis.
- 134 Psalm XL, 51: Tyś obrona i zdrowie, Panie, dusze mojej,
 Buchanan, 71: Vitæ o præsidium & certa salus meæ
- 135 Psalm XLI, 7-8: Pan go w przypadku jego łaskawie wspomoże,
 I swoją własną ręką bedzie mu słał łożę.
 Buchanan, 12-13: Opem feretque, & lectulum
Versabit: [...]
- 136 Psalm XLI, 9-10: Przetoż i ja okrutną chorobą złożony,
Do Ciebie się uciekał, Boże nieskończony,¹²⁴
 Buchanan, 15-16: Quum me doloris vis acerbi affligeret,
Opem poposci te Deus.

¹²¹ While Kochanowski's rendering differs from Buchanan's insofar as he adheres more closely to the biblical text than does the Scot, nonetheless, his use of the word "świat" might indicate the influence of Buchanan's paraphrase (cf. Calvin: "in cœtu magno"; Campensis: "in frequentia populi maxima"; Vulgate: "in Ecclesia magna").

¹²² Kochanowski's rendering differs from the biblical text (cf. Calvin: "bonitas tua & veritas tua semper custodiant me"; Campensis: "sed benignitas tua, et constantia, in seruandis promissis, tutentur me perpetuo"; Vulgate: "misericordia tua & veritas tua semper susceperunt me"). It is apparent that the exhortation for God to be the Psalmist's protector was influenced by Buchanan's version.

¹²³ This might also derive from Campensis' translation: "spe sua frustrati, notentur infamia, qui voluptatem capiunt ex malo meo".

¹²⁴ The reference to the Psalmist being afflicted by illness or pain does not find a corresponding passage in the biblical text, although it is implied that he was in some distress. Rather, Kochanowski has followed Buchanan or Campensis ("Ego in morbo conuerti me ad te") at this point.

137 Psalm XLI, 17-18:

A jeśli który kiedy nawiedzać mnie przyszedł,
W serce niech[ę]tne jadu nazbierawszy wyszedł,¹²⁵

Buchanan, 23-28:

Si forte quis me visit horum, corporis
Animique morbis anxium,
Vultu dolore fingit, ac suspiria
Læto trahit de pectore.
Foras profectus conditum in præcordiis
Repente virus euomit.

138 Psalm XLI, 35-36:

Niechaj Bóg Izraelski na wszystek świat słynie,
Póki kołom niemylnym dzień za nocą płynie.

Buchanan, 53-56:

Agnoscat orbis, vnicum & colat Deum,
Quem gens honorat Isaci:
Vnumque laudet, temporum donec vices
Luces & vmbra diuident.

(b) Flaminus.

1 Psalm III, 7-8:

Kiedym Cię kolwiek wzywał w swojej potrzebie,
Zawżdy ucho łaskawe nałazł u Ciebie.

Flaminus, 9-11:

Nunquam fidem tuam pia inuoco prece,
Quin vocibus dexter meis
Aures benignas præbeas, [...]

2 Psalm III, 17:

Sam Ty, niebieski Panie, zdrowiem szafujesz,

Flaminus, 29-30:

Solus salutem, solus o dulcissime
 Pater bona omnia sufficis:

3 Psalm XII, 1-2:

Zachowaj mię, o Sprawco niebieskiego domu,
 Prawdy nie masz na ziemi, nie masz ufać komu.¹²⁶

Flaminus, 1-4:

Benigne cœlitum pater, serua obsecro,
 Opemque fer: paucissimi
Nam sunt, quibus confidere, aut possim meam
 Tuto salutem credere.

¹²⁵ Kochanowski's rendering in line 17 might equally derive from Pagninus' translation: "Et si veniebat *quispiam ex eis* ad visendum, [...]." However, since the Psalmist in Kochanowski's version makes reference to the impious man laying up poison in his heart (line 18), rather than iniquity as in the Hebrew text (cf. Calvin: "cor eius accumulatur iniquitatem sibi"; Pagninus: "cor eius congregabat iniquitatem sibi"; Vulgate: "vana loquebatur cor eius, congregavit iniquitatem sibi"), suggests that he is following Buchanan rather than Pagninus.

¹²⁶ Although Kochanowski's manner of expression is similar to that of Flaminus, it is possible that he derived this interpretation of the text from Calvin's commentary ("Ego vero simplicius accipio, nihil amplius beneficentiæ aut veritatis esse residuum inter homines").

- 4 Psalm XIII, 5-6: Dosyciem znał dotychmiast uszy Twe zamknięte,
Dosyciem znał i nazbyt oczy odwrócone:
- Flaminius, 9-12: Aures tuæ satis diu pater a meis
Abhorruere questibus:
Satis, superque vultus auersus tuus
Omnem mihi lucem abstulit.
- 5 Psalm XIII, 9-10: Roświeć moje ciemności swym niogarnionym
Światłem, abych nie zasnął snem nieprzebudzonym:¹²⁷
- Flaminius, 13-15: Iam quæso, iam candore luminis sacri
Meas tenebras dissipa:
Ne forte durus mortis obrepit sopor,
- (c) Hesus.
- 1 Psalm I, 13-14: Ale źli, którzy Boga, i wstydu nie znają,
Tego szczęścia, tej nigdy zapłaty nie mają:
- Hesus, 17-18: Tam bona non capiet, non impius ista videbit
Præmia, non tales dona decent.
- 2 Psalm II, 23-24: Będziesz panował, będziesz rządził ziemię,
I tam, gdzie wschodzi, i gdzie słońce padnie.
- Hesus, 31-32: Nec tamen imperium tibi finiet orbita solis,
Qua vel summa petit, qua vel ad ima cadit.
- 3 Psalm VIII, 25-26: Dajeś w moc jego wszystkie bydła polne,
Dajeś i leśne zwierzęta swowolne:
- Hesus, 33-36: Omnia quæ virides pascunt armenta per herbas,
Quicquid vbique ouium est, quicquid vbique boum,
Quæque per incultos errant animalia campos,
Quæque peragrarunt deuia lustra feræ.
- 4 Psalm IX, 45-48: Pomścić się Pan sprawiedliwy
Krwie niewinnej rozłania,
Usłyszał płacz żalobliwy
I ubogich wołania.
- Hesus, 33-34: Ille memor fuso sumit pro sanguine pœnas,
Et semper miseris auris aperta Dei est.
- 5 Psalm XVI, 1-2: O który siedzisz na wysokim niebie,
Ja nie mam inszej nadzieje krom Ciebie:
- Hesus, 1-2: Cum mihi sit reliquæ misero spes nulla salutis
Te sine, qui rerum maxima scepra tenes:

¹²⁷ While we find a similar imprecation in the Hebrew and Vulgate texts, the reference to illuminating the darkness — rather than the Psalmist's eyes, — strongly suggests the influence of Flaminius' translation.

- 6 Psalm XVI, 9-10: Jaka obfitość tych omylnych bogów
Jaka (o błędzie) ciżba do ich progów:¹²⁸
- Hessus, 11-12: Multa alii statuunt falsorum numina diuum,
Illorum statuas quas venerentur, habent.
- 7 Psalm XXX, 9-12: Zborze Pański, śpiewaj swemu
Obrońcy napewniejszemu:
Uczyń cześć powinną z chęci,
Jego naświetszej pamięci.
- Hessus, 13-16: O igitur domino præconia dicite laudum,
Quorum certa dei pendet ab arce salus,
Quamque potestis ei dignas persolvite grates,
Ipsius vt memores nomina sancta canant.
- (d) Spinula.
- 1 Psalm IV, 2: Któryś mię zwykł wywodzić zawżdy z mych
trudności:
- Spinula, 3-5: [...] a maximis
Qui sæpe vitam angustiis,
Periculisque vindicauisti meam:
- 2 Psalm V, 5-8: Ledwe z głębokiego morza
Ukaże się rana zorza:
A ja już wołam do Ciebie,
Smutne oczy mając w niebie.
- Spinula, 13-18: Surgenteque Aurora, omnibus cum libera est
Humana mens curis, tuum
Orabo numen, atque ocellis sidera
Ad alta sublatis poli
Auidissime expectabo, clementissimus
Quoad feras opem mihi.
- 3 Psalm VII, 3-6: Nieprzyjaciół mój, jako lew okrutny,
Szuka mej dusze, aby ją mógł zgłodzić.
Z jego paszczeki jeśli mię, mój Boże,
Ty sam nie wyrwiesz, nikt mię nie wspomóż.
- Spinula, 3-8: Qui belluarum immanium more, & feri
Instar leonis faucibus
Hiantibus meam salutem ita appetunt,
Et sanguinem, vt qui maxime.
Quis me eripiat his domine si tu deseris
Meæ salutis negligens?

¹²⁸ Although Kochanowski's manner of expression in these lines indicates the influence of Hessus' translation, it is also possible that he derived his rendering from Calvin's commentary to verse 4 ("Sunt qui *alienos*, & *eorum nomina* de cultoribus falsorum deorum exponant: sed Dauid potius ipsos deos (meo iudicio) intelligit. Nam hic scopus est, quauis superstitionum colluue referta sit terra, & increduli in orandis suis idolis sine modo prodigi sint: piis tamen & sanctis abominabile semper fore quicquid illi confingunt").

- 4 Psalm XVII, 19-20: Wysłuchałeś mię w złe czasy moje,
 Proszę, i dziś mi daj ucho swoje.
- Spinula, 3-34: Hac spe tuam imploro fidem,
 Quod sæpius me subleuasti supplicem:
 Et nunc precantis obsecro,
 Ne orationem & verba in extremo mea
 Periculo contempta habe,
- 5 Psalm XVIII, 1-2: Ciebie ja, póki mi jedno żywota stanie
 Miłować ze wszystkiej dusze będę, mój Panie.¹²⁹
- Spinula, 1-2: Toto (quid aiunt) pectore vsque diligam
 Te præpotens rerum Deus,
- 6 Psalm XVIII, 29-30: Ruszył gromów, i wypuścił ogniste strzały,
 A wnet okrył wszystkie pola martwymi ciały.
- Spinula, 59-60: Trisulca librat tela, campos illico
 Sternit cadauere hostium.

¹²⁹ The Psalmist states that he will worship God with his whole heart in Buchanan's paraphrase too (lines 1-2: "Te Deus alme colam, te toto pectore amabo / Sancte parens [...]").

6.2.1: Analysis: Book 1

The following table contains a visual representation of the data set out above. While breaking down the data by type and author has certain advantages, it does not allow us to see the overall picture, for the data relating for example to Psalm 2 are located in five different places, while those relating to Psalm 18 are located in six different sections. The table below is designed to allow us to see how the data fit together, in other words, how Kochanowski used his sources within each Psalm.

Book 1										
Psalm	Prose Translations				Commentaries		Verse Translations			
	Calvin	Camp	Pagn.	Vulg.	Calvin	Est.	Buch.	Flam.	Hess.	Spin.
I					1				1	
II				1	2	1	2		1	
III					2	1	1	2		
IV							4			1
V				3	1	1	3			1
VI				1			3			
VII							3			1
VIII				1			1		1	
IX	1			2	1		1		1	
X	1	1			2		1			
XI							1			
XII					1		2	1		
XIII							2	2		
XIV							1			
XV										
XVI					3		2		2	
XVII		2		1	2		2			1
XVIII	3	2		2	2		10			2
XIX					1		7			
XX					1		1			
XXI	1	2		1	1		4			
XXII		2		3	1		7			
XXIII		1		2			2			
XXIV		2		1	3		2			
XXV				2	4	1	3			
XXVI	1				3		3			
XXVII			1				8			
XXVIII				1	1		1			
XXIX					1		4			
XXX					1		4		1	
XXXI		1		1	1	1	2			
XXXII	3			1	1	1	3			
XXXIII	1		1	2	1		5			
XXXIV	1	1	1	2	1		3			
XXXV				2	3	1	6			
XXXVI		1					2			
XXXVII		6	1	1	3		10			
XXXVIII	1	2		1	2		3			

XXXIX	2	1		1	3		8			
XL		1		3	3	1	8			
XLI		2	1	1	2		3			

It will be seen from the above table that Kochanowski makes some use of the translations by Eobanus Hessus¹³⁰ and by Flaminus and Spinula¹³¹ in this book. Given that these translations did not conform to his requirements, both in terms of form (Hessus' translation is written exclusively in elegiac couplets, while both Flaminus and Spinula avoid the use of the stanza almost entirely) and content (Spinula's translations are very free and wordy, while those by all three men contain a number of classical references, for example to Olympus and Jupiter, which Kochanowski rejects as being out of place in a Judæo-Christian text), it is very probable that those Psalms in which the influence of these poets can be seen represent the earliest period of Kochanowski's work on the Psalms. This is further suggested by the letter of 6 October 1571 to Fogelweder, in which Kochanowski is extremely critical of Hessus' efforts.

This appears to bear out the contention that Kochanowski translated a few Psalms, perhaps as a schoolboy exercise, while studying at Königsberg or Padua. Indeed, I would suggest that he probably obtained a copy of the translation by the German, Hessus, while at Königsberg.¹³² As for the translation by Flaminus and Spinula, it is not certain whether he had access to it in Königsberg or Paris or whether it was available to him only after his return to Poland in 1559.

This contention is supported by the fact that Kochanowski appears to have used these models at different times. There are elements of Hessus' translation present in Psalms 1, 2, 8, 9, 16 and 30, of Flaminus in

¹³⁰ While it is generally accepted that Hessus' translation first appeared in Marburg in 1529, Dobrzycki, op. cit., p. 30, posits the existence of a 1527 edition published in Nürnberg. I can find no evidence of this earlier edition.

¹³¹ The publication history of the translations by Marc Antonio Flaminus and Publio Francesco Spinula is complicated. Dobrzycki, op. cit., pp. 30 and 75, suggests that Flaminus produced two different translations. The first, a prose translation, initially appeared in Venice in 1537, containing only 32 Psalms. He subsequently completed this translation, appended a commentary to all one hundred and fifty Psalms, and a verse translation of thirty Psalms (numbers 1, 3, 6, 11-13, 15, 23, 30, 42, 100, 113, 114, 120, 121, 123-125, 127-134, 137 and 144), and published this edition in Venice in 1545.

Spinula appears to have completed the verse translations at some point in the mid-1550s, in much the same way as Théodore de Bèze completed those Psalms which Clément Marot had left untranslated, and his translation of 120 Psalms composed in Latin verse appeared together with the thirty already translated by Flaminus in Basle in 1558. According to Dobrzycki, *ibid.*, p. 30, Spinula subsequently produced a translation of all one hundred and fifty Psalms in 1562 (place of publication unknown). However, it is the verse translation which became most popular and widely available, and with which Kochanowski is most likely to have come into contact.

¹³² However, it is also possible that he obtained this work in Paris. For, Ian McFarlane (*Buchanan* (London, 1981), p. 248) writes: "Rather later, the paraphrases of Eobanus Hessus, already popular in Germany in the 1530s, began to enjoy French editions (Paris 1547 and 1549; Lyons 1557; Paris 1565 and others."

Psalms 3, 12 and 13, and of Spinula in 4, 5, 7, 17 and 18. If we accept that Kochanowski may not have owned a copy of all of his sources and models, and had only temporary or occasional access to them, then it is apparent from the grouping of the passages in which he can be seen to have used one or other of his sources or models that, at least initially, he did not translate the Psalms in their numerical sequence.

The very large number of instances where Kochanowski has made use of Buchanan's paraphrases indicates not only that he owned a copy of this work, but also that this was his principal source of imitation. The principle of imitation, the desirability of which was heavily emphasised by the humanist educators, was that, having decided on the genre and subject-matter of a composition, an author would then choose the best exponent of that genre and imitate his style and language. Although some attempts had been made in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to replace classical authors with more contemporary ones, this was rejected in the Renaissance period. However, there were very few Christian writers of literature in the classical period, and this presented a problem when it came to composing religious verse, or indeed translating the Psalms. While literary theorists partly obviated the problem by treating the Psalms as Odes,¹³³ thus allowing their verse translations to be modelled on Horace, others, such as Kochanowski, looked to their contemporaries. Buchanan's paraphrases were widely regarded as the best neo-Latin verse translation available in the sixteenth century,¹³⁴ and they had also been set to music.¹³⁵ This translation would have appealed to Kochanowski both because of the great variety of stanzas employed and also because of Buchanan's skill as a poet.

We know that he had obtained a copy of Buchanan's translation by 1568, the year in which he wrote a poem in praise of them. However, the fact that we find evidence in a few Psalms of Kochanowski using this translation alongside those by Hesus, Flaminus and Spinula suggests that these were either composed in the period 1568-1571, or else written prior to 1568 and subsequently re-edited.

¹³³ See, for example, Joannes Lucienbergius *Methodica Instructio componendi omnis generis Versus, Carmina, & Odas seu Psalmos* (Basle, 1575).

¹³⁴ The supremacy of Buchanan's translation was challenged by that of another Scot, Arthur Johnston (1587-1641), and the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw a bitter dispute as to which of these translations was the best and, thus, most suited for use in schools.

¹³⁵ While it has been suggested that Kochanowski had little understanding of music and its demands (Rosemary Hunt, "Jan Kochanowski's *Psalterz* and the musical settings of Mikołaj Gomółka", *Jan Kochanowski in Glasgow*, pp.73-91. See, in particular, pp. 85-86), he must have been aware of the commission given by Myszkowski to Mikołaj Gomółka to set Kochanowski's translations to music, for the fact that the musical settings appeared only one year after the first edition of *Psalterz Dawidów* suggests that Gomółka had begun work on the Psalms while Kochanowski was still translating them.

It is very difficult to date individual Psalms with any certainty. While Stanisław Dobrzycki asserted that Psalms, 1, 15, 19, 33 and 44 were written in or before 1571, and that Kochanowski's translation of Psalm 20 dates from 1567,¹³⁶ this is by no means certain. Indeed, some doubt is cast upon Dobrzycki's contentions by his insistence that the opening stanza to Psalm 20, for which there is no corresponding passage in the biblical text, contains a reference to the military campaign of 1567 against Russia. While it is possible that these events prompted Kochanowski to translate that particular Psalm at that time, Dobrzycki fails to remark on the obvious similarities between this stanza and a similar exhortatory passage in Buchanan's translation.

The available evidence allows us to conclude only that Kochanowski had translated thirty Psalms by 1571, that it is probable that he had begun some of these while still a student,¹³⁷ and that those translations which reveal the influence of Hesus, Flaminus and Spinula, insofar as they are confined to Book 1, probably date from this period.

As for Kochanowski's treatment of his sources, it is apparent that the prose translations and exegetical works identified above were used to help him convey the meaning of the biblical text, while the verse works served for the purpose of imitation. The evidence set out above supports Dobrzycki's theory that Kochanowski used the prose texts (be they translations or commentaries) as sources, and the verse texts as models for imitation.

¹³⁶ On Dobrzycki's attempts to date individual Psalms see: S. Dobrzycki, "Psalterz Kochanowskiego: jego powstanie, źródła, wzory", *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności*, Wydział filologiczny, Series III, vol. 3 (Kraków, 1911), pp. 1-144; (pp. 102-109).

¹³⁷ According to Dobrzycki (*ibid.*, p. 102), Bronisław Chlebowski was of the opinion that Kochanowski translated individual Psalms as early as 1551, while Tadeusz Grabowski ("Kochanowski wobec reformacji", *Pamiętnik zjazdu naukowego im. Jana Kochanowskiego w Krakowie 8 i 9 czerwca 1930* (Kraków, 1931), pp. 326-337 (p. 331) suggests that his work on the Psalms was prompted by a meeting with Karol Utenhove which took place at Königsberg at some point during the 1550s.

6.3: Book 2

I. Prose Translations.

(a) Calvin.

- 1 Psalm XLIV, 29: Wzgarde zewsząd odnosim, szyderstwa cierpimy¹
 Calvin, v. 14: [...] ludibrium & subsannationem his qui circum nos sunt.
 Vulgate XLIII, v. 13: [...] subsannationem & derisum iis qui sunt in circuitu nostro.
- 2 Psalm LV, 33-34: Rano będę, i wieczór, i w południe prosił,
Bede swój głos płacziwy do nieba podnosił.²
 Calvin, v. 18: Vespere, & mane, & meridie orabo & strepitum edam: [...]
 Vulgate LIV, v. 17: Vespere, & mane, & meridie narrabo & annuntiabo, [...]
- 3 Psalm LVIII, 11-12: Aby nie słuchać, kiedy nauczony
Czarownik nad nią zacznie rym nieptony.³
 Calvin, v. 6: Quæ non audit ad vocem incantantis magi, magicam exercentis scienter.
 Vulgate LVII, v. 5: Quæ non exaudiet vocem incantantium, & venefici incantantis sapienter.
- 4 Psalm LIX, 18: A ja na Cię moc jego zachowam, [...]
 Calvin, v. 10: Fortitudinem eius ad te custodiam, [...]
 Vulgate LVIII, v. 9: Fortitudinem meam ad te custodiam, [...]
- 5 Psalm LXXI, 37-38: Abych się Twoje mógł tak terazniejszemu
 Opowiadać wiekowi, jako i przyszłemu.
 Calvin, v. 18: [...] donec annuntiem robur tuum generationi, cunctis venientibus fortitudinem tuam.
 Vulgate LXX, v. 18: Donec annuntiem brachium tuum, generationi omni quæ ventura est.

¹ While we find something similar in Campensis' translation ("subsannationi & ludibrio fuimus iis, qui habitant circum nos"), the fact that Campensis has reversed the order in which the two details occur suggests that Kochanowski probably derived his rendering from Calvin's translation of the Hebrew text.

² While Campensis's translation contains a reference to the Psalmist praying ("Vespere, mane, & ipso meridie precabor"), the fact that Kochanowski mentions both this detail and the fact that he will raise his voice to God indicates that he has based his rendering on Calvin's translation (cf. Calvin: "& strepitum edam"; Campensis: "& sollicitus ero quoad vocem meam audierit").

³ The fact that Kochanowski omits the second reference to snake charmers, which is present in both the Vulgate text and in Pagninus' translation, suggests that he is following Calvin's translation.

(b) Campensis.

- 1 Psalm LIII, 23: Będą wstydem ogarnieni,⁴
Campensis, v. 5: [...] pudore afficies eos, [...]
- 2 Psalm LVI, 13: Co wyrzekę, wszystko opak wywracają,
Campensis, v. 5: Ipsi assidue quicquid vel dicerem vel facerem, calumniabantur, [...]
- 3 Psalm LVI, 17: I nie weźmie złość ich pomsty? być nie może,
Campensis, v. 7: Erit ne hæc iniquitas impunita illis? nequaquam.
- 4 Psalm LVII, 3: Niechaj ulegę w pewnie Twych skrzydeł zastanie,
Campensis, v. 1: [...] protegar quæso sub vmbra alarum tuarum, [...]
- 5 Psalm LVIII, 11: Aby nie słuchać, [...]
Campensis, v. 5: Vt non cogatur audire [...]
- 6 Psalm LIX, 19: Ty mój zły czas uprzedzisz miłosierdziem swoim,
Campensis, v. 10: Deus pro sua benignitate muniet me, priusquam illi insultum facere possunt in me [...]
- 7 Psalm LIX, 35-36: Boże mój, obronca mój, ucieczko i zbroja,
Tobie śpiewać na wieki lutnia będzie moja.⁵
Campensis, v. 16: [...] fuisti enim protectio mihi, & refugium quo tempore periclitabar inter hostes meos.
- 8 Psalm LXV, 45: Pustynie kwitną, [...]
Campensis, v. 11: [...] quin & habitacula deserti vbertate perfruentur, [...]
- 9 Psalm LXVIII, 70: Którzy płyniecie z źródeł cnego Izrahela.⁶
Campensis, v. 26: [...] posterī Iacob, qui emanauerunt veluti a fonte Israelis.

⁴ While this reference to those who oppose God being put to shame is common to all texts, the fact that Kochanowski has rendered the verb in the future rather than the past tense might indicate the influence of Campensis' translation.

⁵ Although Campensis' references to God as the Psalmist's protector and refuge are found in the penultimate rather than the final verse, nonetheless, it is apparent that Kochanowski derived his rendering from here (cf. Calvin: "fuisti arx mihi, & refugium in die tribulationis meæ"; Vulgate: "Quia factus es susceptor meus, & refugium meum in die tribulationis meæ").

⁶ We also find something similar in Estienne's note to this verse ("Ex vena. ex fonte. id est, qui emanastis vt e fonte, ex Iacob. periphrasis est Iudæorum. q. d. vos qui estis posterī Iacob, vel ex eius familia").

- 10 Psalm LXIX, 1: Ratuj mię Panie: bo złych przygód nawałności
Campensis, v. 1: Serua mi deus, quia peruenerunt vndæ malorum [....]
- 11 Psalm LXIX, 23-26: Jeslim płakał, jeslim swe postem dreńczył ciało,
Wszystko mi to śmiech u nich jednało.
Jesli mię w grubym chodząc worze upatrzyli,
Przypowieść ze mnie wnet uczynili.⁷
Campensis, vv. 10-11: Si quando fletu, & ieiunio, affligebam me, ipsi probro
verterunt id mihi.
Vtebar pro veste sacco, & factus sum etiam ob hoc
fabula illis.
- 12 Psalm LXIX, 78: A Judzkie miasta z rumów wyniesie.
Campensis, v. 35: [...] & reædificabit ciuitates Iudæ, [....]
- 13 Psalm LXXI, 47: Będą Cię wyznawały w powieści statecznym,
Campensis, v. 22: [...] & nablo musico instrumento constantiam tuam in
promissis mi deus, [....]
- (c) Pagninus.
- 1 Psalm XLIV, 13-14: Nieprzyjacielem nasze przy Tobie zetrzemy,
A w imię święte Twoje harde podepcemy.
Pagninus, v. 6: In te hostes nostros cornu petemus: in nomine tuo
conculcabitur inimicos nostros.
- 2 Psalm LVIII, 26: I stopy we krwi złych dobry omoczy:
Pagninus, v. 11: [...] pedes suos lauabit in sanguine impii.⁸
- 3 Psalm LXVI, 15-16: Tobie niechaj bije czołem
Cokolwiek świat obszedł kołem.
Pagninus, v. 4: Omnēs habitatores terræ incuruabunt se tibi, [....]

⁷ The verb "dreńczył" and the noun "przypowieść" indicate that Kochanowski derived his rendering either from the Vulgate text or from the translations by Campensis or Pagninus (cf. Calvin: "Et fleui, in ieiunio anima mea, idque fuit in opprobrium meum. Et posui vestimentum meum saccum, & fui illis in dicerium"; Pagninus: "Et fleui, in ieiunio afflixi animam meam: & fuit in opprobrium mihi. Et posui vestimentum meum saccum: & fui eis in parabolam"; Vulgate: "Et operui in ieiunio animam meam, & factum est in opprobrium mihi. Et posui vestimentum meum cilicium, & factus sum illis in parabolam"). However, the fact that Kochanowski refers to sackcloth rather than to a hairshirt indicates that he did not make use of the Vulgate text. Kochanowski's manner of expression suggests that he based his rendering in these lines on Campensis' translation.

⁸ This might also derive from the translations by Buchanan (lines 35-36: "[...] impiique / Sub pedibus fluuium cruoris") or Campensis ("pedes suos madefaciet sanguine impii").

- 4 Psalm LXXII, 53-54: Imię na wieki jego nie zgaśnie,
Dokąd słoneczny gore krąg jasnie:
Pagninus, v. 17: Erit nomen eius in seculum, quandiu fuerit sol, [...]⁹
(d) Vulgate.
- 1 Psalm XLII, 5-6: Ciebie żywego, wieczny Boże, zdroja
Upracowana pragnie dusza moja:
Vulgate XLI, v. 2: Sitiuit anima mea ad deum fontem viuum, [...]¹⁰
Calvin XLII, v. 3: Sitiuit anima mea ad Deum, ad Deum viuum, [...]
- 2 Psalm XLIII, 9-10: Czemu mię troskliwego
Pchasz od oblicza swego?
Vulgate XLII, v. 2: [...] quare me repulisti, [...]
Calvin XLIII, v. 2: [...] quare alienatus es a me? [...]
- 3 Psalm XLIV, 11-12: Tyś jest król mój, Tyś Pan mój, [...]
Vulgate XLIII, v. 5: Tu es ipse Rex meus & deus meus, [...]
Calvin XLIV, v. 5: Tu ipse Rex meus, Deus manda salutes Iacob.
- 4 Psalm XLIV, 46: Ani wiecznie oddalaj od siebie sług Twoich.¹¹
Vulgate XLIII, v. 23: [...] & ne repellas in finem.
Calvin XLIV, v. 24: [...] ne obliuiscaris in finem.

⁹ When these lines are compared to other translations of the biblical text, it is apparent that Kochanowski's rendering is a free translation of Pagninus' translation (cf. Calvin: "Erit nomen eius in seculum, coram sole propagabitur nomen eius"; Campensis: "Erit nomen illius celebre perpetuo: priusquam enim esset sol, [...]"; Vulgate: "Sit nomen eius benedictum in secula, ante solem permanet nomen eius").

¹⁰ It is not certain that Kochanowski did derive his rendering from the Vulgate text. The Vulgate text as it appears in Pagninus' edition reads "ad deum fortem, viuum", a reading which appears to agree with the Hebrew text (cf. Calvin: "Sitiuit anima mea ad Deum, ad Deum viuum"; Campensis: "Sitiuit anima mea deum: deum, inquam, fortem & valentem"), and with the Venice 1542 edition of the Vulgate text. This does not alter the fact that a number of editions ([Lyons, 1510]; Paris, 1545; Paris, 1552; [Paris or Geneva], 1555; [Geneva], 1567) read "fontem", and it is apparent that Kochanowski based his translation on one of these. I have yet to ascertain which other editions also contain this reading.

¹¹ This might also derive from Pagninus' translation, which is almost identical to the Vulgate text: "ne repellas *nos* in finem".

- 5 Psalm XLV, 33-34: Otóż i pannę dawno pożądaną
Masz wedła siebie, złotem przyodziana.¹²
- Vulgate XLIV, v. 9: Astitit regina a dextris tuis in vestitu deaurato, [...]
- Calvin XLV, v. 10: [...] astitit ad dextram tuam in auro Ophir.
- 6 Psalm XLVI, 34-36: Skruszył tęgi łuk waleczny,
Potłukł zbroje nie pożyte,
Spalił tarcze nieprzebite.
- Vulgate XLV, v. 9: Arcum conteret & confringet arma, & scuta comburet igni.
- Calvin XLVI, v. 10: [...] confringit arcum, dissipat arma, currus exurit igni.
- 7 Psalm XLVII, 6: Ten pod nas możne podbił narody,¹³
- Vulgate XLVI, v. 3: Subiecit populos nobis, [...]
- Calvin XLVII, v. 4: Ordinavit populos sub nobis, [...]
- 8 Psalm LI, 13-14: Pokrop mię hyssopem, a oczyszcion będę,
Omyj mię, a śnieżnej jasności nabędę.¹⁴
- Vulgate L, v. 8: Asperges me domine hyssopo & mundabor, lauabis me, & super niuem dealabor.
- Calvin LI, v. 9: Expiabis me hyssopo & mundabor: lauabis me, & prae niue albescam.
- 9 Psalm LI, 37-38: Bądź łaskaw na miasto swoje, wieczny Panie,
Że tym rychlej w pięknych swoich murzech stanie.
- Vulgate L, v. 19: Benigne fac domine in bona voluntate tua Sion: ut ædificentur muri Ierusalem.
- Calvin LI, v. 20: Benefac in beneplacito tuo Sion, ædifica muros Ierusalem.

¹² While the reference to the queen being clothed in gold suggests that Kochanowski based his rendering on the Vulgate text, this is certainly implicit in the Hebrew text also. While Campensis understands this gold as signifying jewellery ("statuetur tibi ad dextram coniunx ornata auro Ophir optimo"), the notes which accompany Pagninus' translation also mention clothing ("In auro Ophir. Hebraismus, pro, ornata veste pretiosissima, confecta ex auro quod affertur ex Ophir"). Thus it is not possible to determine the exact origin of Kochanowski's rendering in these lines.

¹³ While Campensis' rendering ("Sola prædicatione euangelii subiecit populos nobis") is similar to the Vulgate text, the fact that Kochanowski does not mention the manner in which this subjugation of the peoples was brought about indicates that he probably based his translation on the Vulgate text rather than on Campensis' translation.

¹⁴ While it is apparent from his choice of verb that Kochanowski has based his translation of this verse on the Vulgate rather than the Hebrew text, his use of the imperative rather than the future indicative suggests the influence of Estienne's note to Pagninus' translation: "Purifica Fut. Heb. Expiabis me, vel Lauabis: pro imperatiuis".

- 10 Psalm LIV, 9: Obróć wszystko złe na nie: [...]
 Vulgate LIII, v. 6: Auerte mala inimicis meis, [...]
 Calvin, v. 7: Rependet malum aduersariis meis, [...]
- 11 Psalm LV, 19-20: W domiech siedzi wszeteczność: a zaś ulicami
Lichwa chodzi, ludzkimi umoczona łzami.
 Vulgate LIV, v. 11: Et non defecit de plateis eius vsura & dolus.
 Calvin LV, v. 12: [...] & non discedit a plateis eius fraus & dolus.
- 12 Psalm LVI, 1-2: Smiłuj się nade mną, Boże litościwy,
Bo mnie prawie w ziemię wbił człowiek złośliwy.¹⁵
 Vulgate LV, v. 1: Miserere mei deus quoniam conculcauit me homo, [...]
 Calvin LVI, v. 2: Miserere mei Deus, quia deuorat me homo, [...]
- 13 Psalm LVI, 5: Wdeptali mnie w ziemię ludzie nieżyczliwi,
 Vulgate LV, v. 2: Conculcauerunt me inimici mei tota die, [...]
 Calvin LVI, v. 3: Deuorant inimici quotidie, [...]
- 14 Psalm LXVI, 41-48: Wegnałeś nas w dół pokryty,
Włożyłeś ciężar niezbyt
Na grzbiet nasz upracowany,
A na głowę ciężkie pany.
Przez ogień, przez wody srogie
Szlichmy: a Tyś nas ubogie
 Krom urazu, i krom szkody
 Przyprowadził do ochłody.¹⁶
 Vulgate LXV, v. 10-11: Induxisti nos in laqueum, posuisti tribulationes in
dorso nostro, imposuisti homines super capita nostra.
Transiuimus per ignem & aquam, & eduxisti nos in
refrigerium.
 Calvin LXVI, v. 11-12: Deduxisti nos in laqueum, posuisti coarctionem in
 lumbis nostris.
 Equitare fecisti hominem super capita nostra, venimus
 in ignem & aquam, & eduxisti nos in planitiem.

¹⁵ This might equally derive from Campensis' translation: "Miserere mei deus, conculcare enim conatus est me homo". Indeed, if we understand "prawie" as meaning *almost* rather than *indeed*, which is its more usual meaning in Kochanowski's verse, then it would be rather closer to Campensis' version than to the Vulgate text. However, the fact that Campensis renders verse 2 (cf. Calvin: "Deuorant inimici quotidie"; Campensis: "Conculcare conantur me hostes mei omni tempore"; Vulgate: "Conculcauerunt me inimici mei tota die") in the same way suggests that Kochanowski probably derived his rendering in these lines from the Vulgate text.

¹⁶ While the reference to refreshment in line 48 might derive from Estienne's note ("In *terram irriguam*, in *refrigerium*"), the reference to a burden being placed on their backs, to masters (plural) being placed over their heads, and to them passing through fire and water indicates that Kochanowski has based his rendering on the Vulgate text.

- 15 Psalm LXVII, 7-8: Bo Ty wszystkie narody sprawiedliwie sadzisz.
Ty jako Pan wszechmocny okrąg ziemski rzadzisz.
- Vulgate LXVI, v. 4: [...] quoniam iudicas populos in æquitate, & gentes in terra dirigis.
- Calvin LXVII, v. 5: [...] quoniam iudicabis populos in æquitate, & populos in terra diriges.
- 16 Psalm LXVIII, 25-26: Tamżeś raczył naznaczyć miejsce stadu swemu,
I okazałeś wielką łaskę ubogiemu.¹⁷
- Vulgate LXVII, v. 10: Animalia tua habitabunt in ea, parasti in dulcedine tua pauperi deus.
- Calvin LXVIII, v. 11: Congregatio tua habitabit in ea: parabis in bonitate tua pauperi Deus.
- 17 Psalm LXIX, 43: Wszystkie Ty znasz, którzy mię trapić nie przestają,
- Vulgate LXVIII, v. 20: In conspectu tuo sunt omnes qui tribulant me, [...]
- Calvin LXIX, v. 20: [...] coram te omnes aduersarii mei.
- 18 Psalm LXIX, 51-52: [...] zaślepże im oczy,
A grzbiety zawždy ku ziemi toczy.
- Vulgate LXVIII, v. 23: Obscurentur oculi eorum ne videant, & dorsum eorum semper incurua.
- Calvin LXIX, v. 24: Obtenebrentur oculi eorum ne videant, & lumbos eorum semper fac tremiscere.
- 19 Psalm LXXII, 39: Zdejmie z nich liczfe: [...]¹⁸
- Vulgate LXXI, v. 14: Ex vsuris & iniquitate redimet animas eorum, [...]
- Calvin LXXII, v. 14: A fraude & violentia redimet animas eorum, [...]

¹⁷ It seems likely, given his choice of tenses in these lines, that this passage is a free translation of the Vulgate text, for line 25 refers to the future, while line 26 refers to the past. However, Estienne's note ("Congregatio tua. Pecus tuum") and the reference to "bonitate tua" mean that these lines might equally have derived from Pagninus' translation of the Hebrew text.

¹⁸ This might equally derive from Campensis' rendering: "Ab vsuris & iniquitate redimet animas eorum, [...]"

II. Commentaries.

(a) Calvin.

(i) Passages in which Kochanowski has used Calvin's commentary.

- 1 Psalm XLIV, 21: Ale teraz (niestety) prostoś nas zabaczył.¹⁹
 Calvin, v. 10: Id enim proprie significat verbum *zanachta*, quod abominari, cum aliis vertimus. Quanquam si quis malit, obliuisci, vel longe abesse, non reclamo.
- 2 Psalm XLIV, 30: Prawie wszystkim na końcu języka siedzimy.²⁰
 Calvin, v. 15: Quanquam nomen *marshal* quod *prouerbium* vertunt, possent, posset tam pro graui imprecatione, quam pro dicterio sumi: sensus tamen eodem redit, nullum fuisse sub cælo magis detestabilem populum: quia vulgo eius nomen contumeliæ causa inter prouerbiales figuras volitaret.
- 3 Psalm XLIV, 31: Wstyd oczom nie dopuści pojrzyć wzgórze śmieje,
 Calvin, v. 16: Sequitur postea cur pudore obruti vultum & oculos attollere non audeant: quia nulla datur a petulantia & hostium conuitiis respiratio.
- 4 Psalm XLV, 27-28: Przeto cię Pan twój znaczna przed inszemi Uczcił powaga rowienniki twemi.²¹
 Calvin, v. 8: Quod addit *vnctum fuisse præ sociis*, non ponitur tanquam effectus iustitiæ, sed potius causa est: quia inde recti & æqui studium Solomoni, quod populo in Regem Diuinitus præfectus esset.
- 5 Psalm XLVI, 19-20: Bo tam sam Pan przemieszkawa, I w potrzebach ratunk dawa.
 Calvin, v. 6: [...] sed ita resolui debet oratio, Non mouebitur e statu suo ciuitas: quia Deus illic residet. atque ad opem ferendam semper est paratus.

¹⁹ While Kochanowski has omitted one of the details present in the original (cf. Calvin: "Veruntamen abominatus es & pudefecisti nos"; Vulgate: "Tunc [vel Nunc] autem repulisti & confudisti nos,"), his reference to God having forgotten the godly suggests that he derived his rendering from Calvin's commentary to verse 10.

²⁰ It seems probable that Kochanowski's rendering, in which the Psalmist complains that the godly are on everybody's lips, derives from Calvin's commentary where it is said that their name is bandied around.

²¹ Kochanowski's rendering in these lines appears to owe something to Calvin's commentary. This dependence can be seen in the phrase "znaczna powaga", which clearly refers to Solomon's elevation to the throne. It should be noted, however, that Kochanowski differs from this and other commentaries in that he interprets the second clause as denoting the result of the king's love of justice rather than the cause of it (cf. Estienne: "Hic etiam sumi debet vt sit causæ redditio, vt supra versu tertio: acsi diceret, Quia Deus tuus vnxit te, ideo diligis rectitudinem &c").

- 6 Psalm XLVII, 15: Wszystkim narodom ten rozkazuje,
Calvin, v. 9: [...] sensus erit, Deum sic præesse toti mundo, ac populos omnes sub imperio suo complecti, [...]
- 7 Psalm XLVIII, 8: Próżno się na Twój wierny lud zbierali.
Calvin, v. 5: Refert enim Propheta, quum Reges simul congregati essent ad perdendam Ierosolymam, impetus tamen eorum irritos transisse [...]
- 8 Psalm XLVIII, 15-16: A Tyś je tak rozproszył, jako nieujęty
Wiatr morzolutne roztrząsa okręty.
Calvin, v. 8: Commemorat autem Dei potentiam quam exerere solet in magnis & violentis tempestatibus, acsi diceret, non esse mirum si Deus, qui confringit ventorum impetu robustas naues, hostes quoque virium suarum confidentia inflatos prostauerit.
- 9 Psalm XLVIII, 35-36: Ten nas z łaski swej szczerzej opatrować będzie,
Póki żywota człowiekowi zbędzie.²²
Calvin, v. 15: Deum enim sibi hoc verbo æternum ducem ac custodem fore promittunt fideles.
- 10 Psalm XLIX, 17-18: Szaleni ludzie, którzy w swym władaniu
Nadzieję kładą, albo i w zebraniu.
Calvin, v. 7: Propheta autem profanos homines vesanos esse ostendit: quia confidere in sua opulentia, & in diuitiis gloriari, certum amentiae signum sit, vbi stulti homines non vident quod eorum oculis est expositum.
- 11 Psalm XLIX, 22-23: Próżne staranie, próżna o tym piecza,
Aby kto śmierci mógł się uwarować,
Calvin, vv. 9-10: Eandem sententiam confirmat sequenti versu, Quod pretiosa sit eorum redemptio. Significat enim non modo raram esse, sed nusquam posse inueniri [...]
Summa ergo est, non posse inter homines inueniri pretium quo sibi, vel aliis æternitatem in mundo redimant.

²² While Kochanowski's rendering differs from other sources and models in referring to God's mercy, these lines can be seen to be a free translation of Calvin's commentary.

- 12 Psalm XLIX, 27-28: A ich osiadłość, i wielkie zebranie,
Przyjdzie na koniec w obcych szafowanie.²³
- Calvin, v. 11: [...] imo vident multorum opulentiam transferri ad alienos.
- 13 Psalm XLIX, 38-39: Aż więc i dzieci błędów naśladować
Ojcowskich zwykły: [...]
- Calvin, v. 14: Hoc autem consulto dicit Propheta, vt filiorum
amentiam magis amplificet, qui Patrum exemplis edocti
non respiciunt.
- 14 Psalm XLIX, 48: A cześć obłudna za duszą uciecze.
- Calvin, v. 18: Ne ergo eiusmodi spectaculis turbemur, prudenter nos
Propheta ad mortis considerationem reuocat, quæ
momento superueniens, fucato isto splendore exutos in
sepulchrum deiiciet.
- 15 Psalm L, 9-11: Przyzowie nieba, i ziemi przyzowie,
Chcąc aby były przy Jego rozmowie,
Którą na ten czas chce mieć z ludem swoim:
- Calvin, v. 4: Ex his verbis colligere promptum est quorsum prius
dixerit vocandam esse terram. nunc enim idem
repetens, Deo nonnisi cum Iudæis litem & iudicium
fore affirmat, sed præsente toto mundo [...]
- 16 Psalm L, 12: Dajcie plac (rzecze) wybranym moim.
- Calvin, v. 5: Siquis subtilius exponere malit, Segregate mihi
pauculos qui sincere & ex animo me colunt, ab ista
promiscua multitudine quæ nomen meum scelere
polluit: [...]
- 17 Psalm L, 16: Bo gdzie Ten sędzi, watpić nie trzeba.²⁴
- Calvin, v. 6: Nam vt fateantur homines Deum esse iudicem, quia
tamen lusus deinde sibi fabricant, quibus transigant
cum eo, oblique iudicandi munus & potestatem ei
abrogantes, a vanis eorum cauillis necesse est quam
laturus est sententiam asseri.

²³ While the biblical text speaks of these men leaving their wealth to strangers, Kochanowski's use of the verb "przyjdzie" seems rather closer to Calvin's "transferri". Cf. Calvin: "& relinquent alienis opulentiam suam"; Pagninus: "& relinquant alienis diuitias suas"; Vulgate: "& relinquent alienis diuitias suas".

²⁴ While we find something similar in Buchanan's rendering (lines 23-24: "[...] nam sedebit / (Ne dubita") Deus ipse vindex), the fact that Kochanowski refers not to the fact that God will sit in judgment but to the fact that His judgments should be followed unquestioningly suggests that he is following Calvin's commentary.

18 Psalm LI, 25-26:

A ja w swym upadku przez Cię podźwigniony,
Będę złym na przykład jawnie wystawiony,²⁵

Calvin, v. 15:

Hic se Deo gratum fore promittit, si fuerit exauditus: & fructum suæ gratitudinis commemorat, nempe se daturum operam vt suo exemplo alij resipiscant. Et certe non modo hoc præscribit charitatis regula, vt manum aliis porrigant qui erecti sunt a Domino: sed huc etiam impellere eos debet pietatis studium & zelus gloriæ Dei, vt omnes, quantum in se est, eiusdem gratiæ participes faciant.

19 Psalm LII, 5-6:

Myśli twoje są zdradliwe,
I postęпки niewstydlive.²⁶

Calvin, v. 4:

Porro etsi crudelis & sanguinarius era Doeg, hic arguitur præcipue interior eius prauitas, quod occulta delatione, per insidias & fraudem prodiderit innoxios Sacerdotes.

20 Psalm LII, 29-32:

Miejdziękę, dobrych obrońca,
A złych skażca: ja do końca
Chcę czekać Twej łaski świętej,
U Twych wiernych zawżdy wziętej.

Calvin, v. 11:

Statuit ero Gaud, quod elapsus fuerit e manu Doeg, quod etiam non centies deinde perierit, id fieri non potuisse, nisi protectus esset Dei auxilio: [...] [...] Et quo meliore animo id faciat, spern suam negat fore irritam, *quia bonum* sit Dei nomen coram fidelibus. Quidam neutraliter accipiunt, quod bonum sit sperare, sicut Psalmo 118.b.8. sed alter sensus meo iudicio, simplicior est, quod Deus fideles suos nunquam frustretur, quin suam bonitatem illis conspicuam exhibeat.

21 Psalm LV, 5-6:

Wszystki swoje fortele na mię obrócili,
Wszystkę swą popędliwość na mię wyrzucili:

Calvin, v. 4:

Cohæret cum hac locutione posterius membrum *in ira aduersantur mihi*. Ergo deuoluere iniquitatem, meo iudicio, nihil aliud est quam iniuste irruere in perniciem miseri hominis, & quiduis machinari ad eum opprimendum. Nisi forte distinguere sic placeat inter hæc duo membra, vt *in furore aduersari*, sit palam & violenter grassari ad hominem perdendum: *deuoluere iniquitatem* sit fraudibus & insidiis pugnare.

²⁵ While Kochanowski's rendering bears some similarities to Campensis's free translation of the Hebrew text ("Hoc vbi præstitetis mihi, ego docebo peccatores quibus viis perueniatur ad te, & peccatis grauati meo exemplo reuertentur ad te"), nonetheless the reference to David being raised up by God indicates that he is following Calvin's commentary.

²⁶ While line 6 is a free translation of the biblical text (cf. Calvin: "fraudulenter agens"; Pagninus: "faciens dolum"; Vulgate: "fecisti dolum"), his reference to Doeg's treacherous thoughts suggests the influence of Calvin's commentary to this verse.

- 22 Psalm LV, 38: A ludzi niecnotliw swoja pomsta zgonisz.
Calvin, v. 20: Nunc ergo addit se fuisse exauditum, vt Deus vindex exurgeret in hostibus eius affligendis.
- 23 Psalm LVII, 3: Niechaj ulege w pewnie Twych skrzydeł zastanie,
Calvin, v. 2: Quanquam enim verbum *chasah* interdum sperare significat, vt ego etiam verti: quia tamen etiam idem valet ac hospitari vel protegere, non displicet ita accipi hoc loco vbi mentio sit vmbræ alarum.
- 24 Psalm LIX, 31-32: Ale będąc krzyżować chleba upraszając
Niedawno, a pójda spać brzucho głodne mając.²⁷
Calvin, v. 16: Simplex vero & genuinus sensus sponte occurrit, Quauis non fuerint saturati, cogentur tamen ire cubitum. atque hac circunstantia magis augetur inedia & famis incommoditas, quod vbi sine profectu totum diem mendicando consumpserint, fessi tamen ieiunum & vacuum ventrem in lectum afferant.
- 25 Psalm LXIII, 17-18: W cieniu Twych skrzydeł, prózen wszech trudności,
Jeszcze ja (da Bóg) użyję radości.
Calvin, v. 8: Secunda pars versus ad spem refertur, quod scilicet exultabit Dauid, vel iubilando, triumphos suos aget sub vmbra alarum Dei: quia non minus secure læto & hilari animo quiescet sub præsidio Dei, quam si esset extra omnem aleam.
- 26 Psalm LXIV, 34-36: A język piekielny
Dla swojegoż jadu
Przyjdzie do upadu.²⁸
Calvin, v. 9: *Et impingere facient super seipsos linguam suam. Prosequitur eadem sententiam: quicquid veneni coquunt in suis consiliis, & lingua sua egerunt, fore tandem illis mortiferum.*

²⁷ While this passage could be a free translation of the Hebrew text (cf. Calvin: "Ipsi vagabuntur ad comedendum: si non fuerint saturati, etiam pernocabunt"; Campensis: "Ipsi discurrent de loco ad locum: vt comparent victum sibi: & quia non famelici inuenient quo saturentur, cubabunt"; Vulgate: "Ipsi dispergentur ad manducandum, si vero non fuerint saturati & murmurabunt"), and a similar interpretation can be found in both Estienne's notes ("Alii vertunt [...] quauis non fuerint saturati, tamen ibunt cubitum. acsi dicat Dauid hostes suos nihil profecturos quum toto die errauerint ad quærendum cibum. cogentur enim etiam tunc ire cubitum incoenati") and in Buchanan's translation (lines 57-60: "Passim vagati pauperem / Victum vt parent, sub vesperum / Serum petant cubilia, / Victus egentes pauperis"), the fact that the reference to going bed with an empty stomach in line 32 is almost identical to the phrase which occurs in Calvin's commentary strongly suggests that the poet derived his rendering from here.

²⁸ While Buchanan's translation also contains a reference to the poison of the tongues of ungodly men bringing about their destruction (lines 29-32: "Spectantes gelidus corripit timor, / Authori exitium quum videant suæ / Virum immittere linguæ / Virosæ mala toxica"), the fact that Kochanowski, in keeping with the biblical text, keeps this reference separate from the reference to fear, suggests that he is following Calvin's commentary rather than Buchanan's translation here.

- 27 Psalm LXIV, 42-44:

Beda uważali
Sprawy Pańskie święte,
Sady niepojęte.

Calvin, v. 10:

Et videbunt omnes homines. Fructum qui ex Deo
iudicio proueniet, plenius explicat, nempe quod nouo
 & insolito spectaculo expergefatti qui prius Dei
 prouidentiam pro nihilo ducebant, melius considerare
 incipient qui prius illis erat incognitum, [...]

- 28 Psalm LXV, 43-44:

A gdzie Ty kolwiek stopę swą położysz,
Obfitość mnożysz.²⁹

Calvin, v. 12:

Quoniam igitur vbertas terræ ex succo & humore,
 humor ex pluuiâ pluuiâ ex nubibus prouenit, eleganter
 nubes dicit pinguedinem stillare, & quod sint Dei
 semitæ, aut vehicula: acsi diceret, quocunque iter facit
Deus, fluere ad pedes frugum copiam & vbertatem.

- 29 Psalm LXVIII, 9-12:

Panu, o wierny zborze, ochotnie śpiewajcie,
 Panu chwałę powinna, i wdzięczny psalm dajcie.
 Panu, który na wierzchu nieba nawysszego
Stolicę swą zasadził:

Calvin, vv. 5-6:

Iam hortari incipit fideles ad laudandum Deum [...] [...] Neque enim cælo inclusus est Deus vt otium colat, sed potius solii instar est ei cælum vnde orbem iudicet.

- 30 Psalm LXVIII, 23-24:

Ale[ś] pogodnym deszczem swój grunt polubiony
 Napoił, [...] ³⁰

Calvin, v. 10:

Hic Daudid perpetuum gratiæ Dei cursum prædicat, ex quo terram sibi promissam ingressus est populus. Ipsa enim vocatur Dei hæreditas, quam assignauerat filiis suis.

- 31 Psalm LXVIII, 45:

Jego wojska niezliczne: [...]

Calvin, v. 18:

Ergo hunc morbum sanare volens Daudid, proponit in medium innumeras Angelorum copias quæ facile discutiant omnia mundi impendimenta.

²⁹ This might equally derive from Campensis' translation: "quæcunque iueris apparebunt in vestigiis tuis signa fertilitatis maxime".

³⁰ It seems likely that Kochanowski's designation of "hæreditatem tuam" as "swój grunt" derives from Calvin's commentary, for Estienne does not provide a note on this appellation. However, it might also derive from Buchanan, who speaks of God watering fields chosen for Himself (line 27: "Arua sibi selecta").

- 32 Psalm LXVIII, 47-48: A sam Pan w pośrodku ich, jaki w dawnym lecie
Na Sinaicu był widzian, albo w swym namiocie.
- Calvin, v. 18: Iam ne longa distantia, quam imaginari solemusi inter
nos & Deum, cursum fidei nostræ abrumpat, proponit
nobis Sinai vbi palam apparuit eius maiestas. vnde
sequitur quiescere adhuc in suo Santuario.
- 33 Psalm LXIX, 21-22: Twój pośmiech, Twoja wzgarda, na mię sie wracają,
Mnie serce trapią, mnie zapalają.
- Calvin, v. 10: Hoc vt melius liqueat, notandum est, quanuis ora
iactent omnes se Deo relinquere suam gloriam, vbi
tamen ad Legem, ad regulam pie viuendi ventum est,
Deo illudere [...] [...] quo maioris constantiæ fuit,
non desistere a suo zelo, nec abiicere voluntarium illum
luctum, quem pietatis causa suscepit.
- 34 Psalm LXIX, 43: Wszystki Ty znasz, [...]]
- Calvin, v. 20: Eadem ratione subiicit, notos esse hostes suos Deo [...]
- 35 Psalm LXXII, 9-10: I będzie jego imię na ziemi
Miedzy narody straszne wszystkimi:
- Calvin, v. 5: Timebunt te. Si per apostrophem legas, poterit hoc ad
Regem non incommode referri [...] Sed melius conueniet
sine mutatione personæ interpretari de ipso Deo.
- 36 Psalm LXXII, 23-24: Od głębokiego brodów Euphrata,
Będzie panował do kraju świata.³¹
- Calvin, v. 8: [...] deinde ab Euphrate vsque ad desertum magnum.
- 37 Psalm LXXII, 31-32: [...] dań Arabczycy
Płacić Mu będą, i Sabejczycy.³²
- Calvin, v. 10: Per *minchah* & *eschar* quoduis tributum aut vectigal
intellige, non autem voluntarias oblationes: quia
loquitur de hostibus deuictis, & de subiectionis
testimonio.
- 38 Psalm LXXII, 41: Przedłuży mu Pan tedy żywota,
I Arabskiego nabierze złota.
- Calvin, v. 15: *Et viuet*. Quod nonnulli verbum hoc ad pauperes
referunt, videtur coactum. Longa igitur vita, quæ non
ultima est inter terrenas Dei benedictiones, Regem hunc
donandum esse affirmat Dauid.

³¹ There is little doubt that Kochanowski made use of Calvin's commentary in this passage, for no other translation or commentary identifies the river by name.

³² This might equally derive from Campensis's translation: "reges Arabum & Sabæorum tributa pendant".

(ii) Passages in which Kochanowski has used Calvin's commentary, but does not adopt Calvin's preferred interpretation.

- 1 Psalm XLIX, 43: Dół ich dom będzie: [...]
 Calvin, v. 15: [...] quidam vertunt, sepulchrum est domicilium illis: & tum *mem* faciunt literam formatiuam nominis. Sed verbis & menti Prophetæ melius congruit diuersa interpretatio, sepulchrum illos a domicilio suo manere.

- 2 Psalm LI, 6-8: [...] ale Ty łaskawie
Racz sie ze mną obejdz, abyś w słowiech swoich
Zawždy praw nalezion, i czyst w sądziech Twoich.
 Calvin, v. 6: Secundam partem versus, *vt iustificeris in sermonibus tuis*, quidam interpretes violenter torquent, dum contexunt cum primo versu, acsi ad proximam sententiam referri non debeat. Atqui præterquam quod abruptum verborum tenorem, non video quem tandem sensum possint elicere ex hac precandi forma, Miserere mei, vt purus sis in tuo iudicio.

- 3 Psalm LXVIII, 78: Niech śrebro w sztukach niosa: [...]
 Calvin, v. 31: Alii eliciunt sensum prorsus contrarium, nempe quod se humiliant hostes, atque in signum subiectionis afferant frustra argenti. Sed quorsum peteret Dauid perdi & excidi hostes deductos, qui fractis animis supplices tributum iam pendebant?

(b) Estienne.

- 1 Psalm XLII, 19-20: Ale dzień idzie, kiedy Pan nade mną
Litość okaże: [...]
 Estienne, note to v. 9: Hæc verba, Sic cogito, subaudita sunt, vt dilucidior esset sensus. Quidam vertunt, Interdiu mandabit, i. efficiet vt interdiu fruar sua misericordia. Dauid promittit sibi misericordiam quæ tunc occulta erat: [...]³³

- 2 Psalm XLII, 27-28: Wszystki Twe duchy, i wszystkie Twe wały
W mię uderzały.³⁴
 Estienne, note to v. 8: Inundationes tuæ & flu. fluctus tui & procellæ tuæ.

³³ While Calvin's interpretation of this passage is essentially the same as that in the notes to Pagninus' translation, nonetheless, the use of the word "misericordiam" suggests that Kochanowski derived his rendering from this source rather than from Calvin. Cf. Calvin, v. 9: "[...] existimo tamen eum sibi promittere in futurum tempus liberationem adhuc occultam: [...]"

³⁴ While the reference to waves or billows (fluctus) is common to both the Vulgate and Hebrew texts, this reference to strong winds or blasts is only found in the notes which accompany Pagninus' translation.

- 3 Psalm XLIV, 23: Twą niełaską się zstało, żesmy tył podali,
 Estienne, note to v. 11: Reuertisti fecisti nos retrorsum ab hoste, Conuertisti nos vt tergum ab hoste esset. i. Vertisti nos in fugam coram hoste. Nos hosti vertere terga cogis.
- 4 Psalm XLV, 15-16: Za tych powodem, o królu cnotliwy,
Będziesz poczynął ręką swoją dziwy.³⁵
 Estienne, note to v. 5: Et docebit te terribilia. Hebraismus, pro, mirabilia perpetrabit dextera tua.
- 5 Psalm L, 31-32: Besty[j]le dzikie i doma mnożone,
Mam jako palce swoje zliczone.³⁶
 Estienne, note to v. 11: Noui id est In numerato habeo.
- 6 Psalm L, 45-46: A ty wycierpieć nie możesz karania,
 Ani przymować chcesz napominania:
 Estienne, note to v. 17: Disciplinam, correctionem. Quid disciplinam vocet, siue correctionem, mox dicit, nempe verbum Dei. idem enim bis repetit diuersis verbis.
- 7 Psalm LI, 15-16: [...] a kości
Twym gniewem zstrapione użyją radości.
 Estienne, note to v. 10: His verbis significat Daud se tam grauiter fuisse afflictum vt non potuerit concipere gustum aliquem lætitiæ, nisi Deo placato.
- 8 Psalm LIV, 8: I tych, co mnie sprzyjają, łaską opatruje.
 Estienne, note to v. 6: Non significat Dominum esse vnum ex numero eorum qui illum iuuant, sed potius Dominum stare a parte eorum quibus vita eius eset curæ. q. d. Ego quidem paucissimos habeo qui mihi faueant, vt Ionathan & similes: sed sufficit mihi quod Dominus a parte ipsorum stat, [...]

³⁵ The reference in line 16 to the king performing wonders might also derive from Buchanan's paraphrase (lines 15-16: "tua dextera factis / Clara per ignotas fundet miracula terras").

³⁶ Although this strictly refers to the first clause, where God is speaking about the birds, nonetheless, the fact that Kochanowski refers to God knowing how many animals there are suggests the influence of Estienne's note.

- 9 Psalm LVI, 21: Jest to w księgach Twoich: [...] ³⁷
- Estienne, note to v. 9: Nonne in libro tuo? nonne in commentario tuo sunt? Hæc interrogatio præparationem siue accinctionem quandam ad rem peragendam notat: & etiam confirmationem, reique certitudinem. propterea quidam vertunt, Certe in libro tuo sunt.
- 10 Psalm LVII, 14-15 &
11 Psalm LVII, 30-31: Stań w wierzchu nieba, a światu wszystkiemu
Okaż swoję wielmożność: [...]
- Estienne, note to v. 6: Exalta te super cælos, attolle te super cælos. q. d. Ostende potentiam.
- 12 Psalm LXII, 6-8: Sami wrychle tak padniecie,
Jako pochyłone ściany,
Albo jako płot zachwiany. ³⁸
- Estienne, note to v. 4: Significat Dauid sic improbos stare ad tempus, vt tamen subito sint ruituri, quemadmodum paries inclinatus, & maceria impulsa.
- 13 Psalm LXV, 31-32: Ty uweselasz rany świt pozorny,
I mirzk wieczorny.
- Estienne, note to v. 9: Dicit Dauid, egressus matutinos & vespertinos exhilarare homines: quia aurora, & deinde sol, exortu suo facit vt animi eriguntur in lætitiā. Deinde si post occasum solis fulget luna & stellæ. est etiam aliqua leuatio.
- 14 Psalm LXVIII, 35-36: Toć jest ona kraina, dla której Bóg siła
Możnych Tyrannów pobił: [...] ³⁹
- Estienne, note to v. 15: In ea, propter eam.

³⁷ The fact that Kochanowski renders this as a statement rather than as a question, suggests that he is following Estienne's note here.

³⁸ While we find something similar in Calvin's commentary to this verse ("Quidam putant impios conferti *parieti inclinato*, quia assidue minatur ruinam, sicut illi in suis sceleribus ad singula momenta labascunt, donec ruant præcipites"), he rejects this reading.

³⁹ It is evident that these lines derive from the Hebrew text as explained by Estienne (cf. Calvin: "Quum dissiparet Omnipotens Reges in ea"; Vulgate: "Dum discernit cœlestis Reges super eam").

- 15 Psalm LXVIII, 39: Góra Pańska jest góra rodna, i obfita,
 Estienne, note to v. 16: Mons Basan: Quidam existimant hoc loco montem Dei, siue montem Sion comparari monti Basan, quod mons Sion similis sit monti Basan, quamlibet fœcundus sit & opimus. Alii dicunt opponi monti Basan. nam quantum ad pascua, mons Sion nihil habebat fertilitatis: erat nanque monticulus sterilis, vnde non potuit aliis conferri in vbertate: sed propter Dei gratiam quæ ab illo loco omnibus difflebat, præfertur monti Basan, hoc sensu, plus referri pinguedinis ab hoc monte in quo Dominus residet, quam si haberemus opimas possessiones.
- 16 Psalm LXVIII, 54: A On nas niech okrywa dobrodziejstwy swemi.
 Estienne, note to v. 20: Confert nobis, portat nos. apportat [*siue affert*] nobis, sub. bona. Alii, onerat nos. sub. beneficiis suis ingentibus.
- 17 Psalm LXVIII, 83: Panu z wieków na niebie przebywajacemu:
 Estienne, note to v. 34: Equitanti super cælos cælorum antiquitatis. Insidenti cælis cælorum ab initio.
- 18 Psalm LXXII, 5-6: Góry (da Pan Bóg) pokój rozpłodza,
 A sprawiedliwość pagorki zrodza.⁴⁰
 Estienne, note to v. 3: Ob iustitiam. Ad verbum, in iustitia. Hebræi dicunt *beth* hoc loco significare propter. q.d. montes & colles afferent pacem propter iustitiam. Alii vertunt, & colles iustitiam. & *beth* redundabit. Quod montes pacem afferre dicit, & colles iustitiam, translatitium est & metaphoricum. sumit enim hanc similitudinem a terræ fœcunditate: acsi diceret. Vbique terra producet pacem & iustitiam, quemadmodum profert triticum, & alias fruges.
- 19 Psalm LXXII, 39-40: [...] zamierzy srogą
 Pomste, ktoby krew przelał ich drogą.⁴¹
 Estienne, note to v. 14: Et pretiosus, &c. nam pretiosus, &c. i. tanti magnificiet egenorum mortem, vt eam vlciscatur.

⁴⁰ While "sprawiedliwość pagorki zrodza" agrees with the Vulgate text ("& colles iustitiam"), the fact that Kochanowski refers to the mountains and hills bringing forth peace and righteousness, rather than receiving them ("Suscipiant montes pacem populo, & colles iustitiam"), indicates that he did not base his translation on the Vulgate text. Kochanowski's choice of verbs indicates that he has taken heed of Estienne's note, where it is said that this passage contains a similitude to the earth bringing forth wheat.

⁴¹ While it is possible that the reference to the shedding of their blood, implicit in the biblical text, derives from Buchanan's translation (lines 49-50: "Nec velut vilem tenuis cruorem / Plebis effundi sinet"), there is no doubt that the reference to vengeance derives from Estienne's notes.

III. Verse Translations.

(a) Buchanan.

- 1 Psalm XLII, 1-2: Jako na puszczy prędkimi psy szczwana
Strumienia szuka łani zmordowana:
- Buchanan, 1-4: Non ceruus fluuios sic auet algidos,
Ceruus turba canum quem premit, [...] ⁴²
- 2 Psalm XLII, 11-12 &
3 Psalm XLII, 39-40: Gdzie teraz on twój, nędzniku wygnany,
Bóg zawołany?
- Buchanan, 11-12 &
43-44: Illudens rogat, Heus iste tuus Deus
Cur nunc deserit exulem?
- 4 Psalm XLIII, 13-14: Niech Twej pomocy, Panie,
Światło prawdziwe wstanie,
- Buchanan, 9: Profer lumen opis tuæ.⁴³
- 5 Psalm XLIII, 17-18: [...] gdzie mieszkanie,
Gdzie Ty masz przebywanie.⁴⁴
- Buchanan, 11-12: Montem, quam proprie domum
Maiestate tui numinis incolis.
- 6 Psalm XLIV, 25: Jesteśmy jako owce na rzeź odłączone.⁴⁵
- Buchanan, 35-36: Pecus vt macello destinata exponimur
Cædentium libidini.

⁴² Although there is also a reference to dogs pursuing the deer in Calvin's commentary to verse 2, nonetheless, Kochanowski's rendering bears a closer similarity to Buchanan's paraphrase. Cf. Calvin: Fateor quidem, si venator ceruum vrgeat & canes instent, occursu fluminis nouas vires colligere: sed sciamus etiam, certis anni temporibus ceruos incredibili ardore plusquam sitienter aquas expetere: quam sitim a Propheta arbitrator: etsi ea de re non contendo.

⁴³ While this reference to the light of God's aid clearly derives from Buchanan, nonetheless, the use of the adjective "prawdziwe" indicates that Kochanowski is adhering more closely to the original text than is the Scot, reinterpreting the two nouns in the imprecation that God send forth His light and truth as a noun plus adjective: send forth your true light. (cf. Calvin, v. 3: "Mitte lucem tuam & veritatem tuam: [...]"; Vulgate XLII, v. 3: "Emitte lucem tuam & veritatem tuam, [...]").

⁴⁴ While Kochanowski's rendering does not agree exactly with Buchanan's, nonetheless, this addition of a coda in which the Psalmist refers to Mt. Sion as God's dwelling-place and place of residence does suggest that he modelled his version on the Scot's.

⁴⁵ While the image of sheep destined for slaughter in Kochanowski's rendering is closer to Buchanan's paraphrase than to the biblical text (cf. Calvin: "Dedisti nos quasi oues in cibum"; Vulgate: "Dedisti nos tanquam oues escarum"), it is also possible that he derived this reference from Campensis' translation ("Similes nos fecisti ouibus mactationi destinatis") or from Estienne's note to verse 12: "Vt pecudes cibi. vt oues escæ hoc est, reddis nos similes ouibus cibo selectis, & mactationi destinatis."

- 7 Psalm XLIV, 27-28: Zaprzedałeś nas lud swój prawie niebogato,
Abowiemś nagrody żadnej nie wziął za to.⁴⁶
- Buchanan, 39-40: Vænum dedisti nos palam, nec auctio
Te ditiozem redidit.
- 8 Psalm XLIV, 41-42: Azaby to przed Tobą tajno było, który
Serca nasze, i myśli wszystkie widzisz z góry?⁴⁷
- Buchanan, 65-66: Id te lateret, abditas qui pectoris
Prorsus latebras inspicis?
- 9 Psalm XLIV, 50: Ciała siły pozbywszy leżą obalone.
- Buchanan, 77-78: [...] strata tabescunt humi
Defecta membra viribus.
- 10 Psalm XLV, 5-7: Żaden o królu, żaden Twej urody
Nie dojdzie między ludzkimi narody,
Żaden wdzięczności pięknej twarzy Twojej:⁴⁸
- Buchanan, 5-8: [...] regi, hominum cui nemo e semine cretus
Audeat eximie contendere munere formæ:
Quem decorat lepor, & roseis affusa labellis
Gratia: [...]
- 11 Psalm XLV, 9-11: Przypasz do boku swój miecz ułożony,
Cny bohaterze: miecz na wszystkie strony
Sławny, i znaczny: z tym sie ty rusz śmieje,
- Buchanan, 10-12: Ergo armis inuicte heros age, fortibus apta
Ensem humeris, ensem, per quem te gloria cælo
Æquat: & aduersum fidens fer pectus in hostem.

⁴⁶ This might also derive from Campensis' rendering: "Vendidisti populum tuum nulla pecunia, nec obulo vno factus es ditior ex venditione illorum".

⁴⁷ It is apparent from Kochanowski's decision to render the text as a question, his use of apostrophe, and the reference to God seeing what lies hidden in men's hearts, that he has modelled his translation on Buchanan's version (cf. Calvin: "An non Deus requiret hoc? quia ipse nouit abscondita cordis"; Campensis: "nunc qui nouit etiam ea, quæ latent in penetralibus cordis, scit nihil in nobis esse tale"; Vulgate: "Nonne deus requiret iste? ipse enim nouit abscondita cordis").

⁴⁸ Kochanowski's manner of expression in lines 5-6, and his references to the king's comeliness (line 5) and beauty (line 7), recalls Buchanan's rendering.

- 12 Psalm XLV, 13-16: Prawda, i ludzkość, twój wóz niech sprawuje,
A sprawiedliwość wodzami szafuje:
Za tych powodem, o królu cnotliwy,
Będiesz poczynął ręką swoją dziwy.⁴⁹
- Buchanan, 13-16: Fræna tibi currus verum moderetur & æquum,
Et quæ præcipitem clementia temperat iram.
His ducibus tibi surget honos: tua dextera factis
Clara per ignotas fundet miracula terras.
- 13 Psalm XLV, 29-30: Piżmem i mirrą pachną drogotkane
Two szaty w skrzyniach Słoniowych chowane:⁵⁰
- Buchanan, 24-27: Vnde tui mulcent populi noua gaudia mentes,
Pallia quum loculis tibi depromuntur eburnis,
Et myrrhæ passim lacrymæ, stactæque suauis
Halitus, & molles casia funduntur odores.
- 14 Psalm XLV, 35-36: Słuchaj mię zacna królewno, a moje
Życzliwe słowa włóż pod serce swoje.⁵¹
- Buchanan, 33-34: Tuque adeo regina audi, & rem pectore conde:
Nec mea dicta nega placidas demittere in aures:
- 15 Psalm XLV, 37-38: Już teraz matki, i młój rodziny,
Już zapamiętaj ojczystej krainy.⁵²
- Buchanan, 35-36: Iam nunc & patria & patrem obliuiscere, iam nunc
Ex animo charos penitus depone propinquos:
- 16 Psalm XLV, 43-44: Lubo kto skarby, lub kto hard dzielnością,
Wszyscy przed tobą padną z uczciwością.⁵³
- Buchanan, 43-45: [...] & vicina per oppida late
Procumbent tibi suppliciter gaxisque potentes,
Aut opibus clari: [...]

⁴⁹ While Kochanowski has made Buchanan's reference to these virtues managing the reins of the king's chariot into two separate references, one to the chariot and the second to the reins, and has rendered the whole in the optative mood, nonetheless, it is apparent that he has derived these details from the Scot's paraphrase. As for the reference in line 16 to the king performing wonders, this might derive from Buchanan or else from the notes to Pagninus' translation: "Et docebit te terribilia. Hebraismus, pro, mirabilia perpetrabit dextera tua".

⁵⁰ This might equally derive from Campensis' rendering: "Nihil quam myrrham, aloen, & casiam spirant omnia vestimenta tua ex repositoriis vestium eburneis [...]".

⁵¹ While Kochanowski's rendering differs somewhat from Buchanan's, the imprecation for the queen to store the Psalmist's words near her heart strongly suggests the influence of the Scot's rendering, for no other text refers to the heart or chest.

⁵² While both Buchanan and Estienne refer to the queen's native land, only Buchanan mentions her family. Thus it seems likely that Kochanowski has derived his rendering in these lines from the Scot, although he reverses the order in which these details occur. It should be noted, however, that I can find no precedent for the reference to the queen's mother.

⁵³ Although Kochanowski has changed the details slightly in these lines, it is apparent that he has modelled his rendering on Buchanan's version.

- 17 Psalm XLV, 45-48: Perty, a złoto, i drogie kamienie,
 Ubiór tej zacnej panny, i odzienie:
Ale przy twarzy ga[ś]nie ubiór złoty,
A zaś urodę przeważają cnoty,
- Buchanan, 46-49: [...] Pharii proles generosa tyranni
 Tota decens, tota est gemmisque insignis & auro:
Et facies cultum illustrat, facieque decora
Pulchrior est animus. [...]
- 18 Psalm XLV, 55-56: [...] a zatem
Doczekasz, że i władać będą światem.
- Buchanan, 58-59: Quos regere imperio terras, totumque per orbem
Aspicias populos sceptris frænare superbos.
- 19 Psalm XLVI, 5-6: Nie trwóźmy się, chocia wszędzie
Z gruntu ziemia trząść się będzie,⁵⁴
- Buchanan, 5-7: Nullam expauemus vim. quatiat licet
 Orbem tumultus, terraque sedibus
 Conuulsa, [...]
- 20 Psalm XLVI, 13-16: Miasto, które Pan miłuje,
 I przybytkiem swym mianuje,
 Rzeka odnogami swemi
 Weseli przejż[r]oczystemi.⁵⁵
- Buchanan, 13-16: Nam ciuitatem cui Deus vnice
Indulget, aris & propriam suis
 Dicauit, argenti pererrans
 Lympha fugax hilarat liquore.
- 21 Psalm XLVI, 17-18: Temu gwałt, i groźna zbroja
 Nie może przerwać pokoja.⁵⁶
- Buchanan, 17-18: Occulta ne vis aut timor hosticus
 Urbis quietem sollicitet, [...]

⁵⁴ Although the sum of what is said in these lines is rather closer to the biblical text than to Buchanan's paraphrase, nonetheless, the reference to the earth's foundations suggests the influence of Buchanan.

⁵⁵ While Kochanowski's rendering in line 15-16 differs somewhat from Buchanan's version, nonetheless, the use of the word "miłuje", and the order in which the elements of this verse are set out, strongly suggest that Kochanowski has modelled his rendering on Buchanan's paraphrase.

⁵⁶ While Kochanowski's reference to internal unrest and external hostility is more explicit than that in Buchanan's version, nonetheless, the fact that both poets refer to two factors which would be able to disturb the city's peace, were it not for God's help, suggests that Kochanowski has made use of the Scot's translation here.

- 22 Psalm XLVI, 21-23: Niechaj sie państwa mieszają,
Królowie wojska zbierają:
Niechaj ogień nieba pada.⁵⁷
- Buchanan, 21-23: Gentes tumultus concitet impias,
Et regna belli concutiat furor,
Flammis fremat cælum coruscis,
- 23 Psalm XLVI, 27 &
24 Psalm XLVI, 43: Bóg Abramów z nami wszędzie,
- Buchanan, 28 &
Buchanan, 44: [...] Deus Abrahami.
- 25 Psalm XLVI, 31: Sprawy dziwne niesłychane:
- Buchanan, 29-30: Venite, adeste, & cernite non prius
Audita, mira, [...]
- 26 Psalm XLVII, 5: Ten niedobyte podał nam grody,
- Buchanan, 9-10: Qui bellicosa compulit
Parere nobis oppida:
- 27 Psalm XLVII, 9: Oto w swój kościół w wesołym pieniu,
- Buchanan, 17: En templa scandit [...]
- 28 Psalm XLVII, 17-18: Mocarze ziemscy k'Niemu przystali,
Królowie królem swym Go wyznali.⁵⁸
- Buchanan, 33-36: Ad hunc potentes gentium
Se contulere principes:
Vltroque colla sub iugum
Rerum dedere præsides.
- 29 Psalm XLVIII, 1-2: O Panie, który nie masz nic równego sobie,
Słusznie oddawa chwałę Sion Tobie,
- Buchanan, 1-4: Rector beate cælitum, cui nil viget
Simile aut secundum,
Beate rector, sancta iure te Sion
In astra tollit laudibus:

⁵⁷ Kochanowski's use of the optative mood in lines 21-22, taken with his reference to troops being assembled for war and to lightning (for I have no doubt that this is what is meant by "ogień nieba pada"), strongly suggests the influence of Buchanan.

⁵⁸ It is apparent that Kochanowski's rendering in line 18 did not derive from the biblical text (cf. Calvin: "Principes populorum congregati sunt ad populum Dei Abrahamæ: quia Dei clypei terræ, valde exaltatus est"; Vulgate: "Principes populorum congregati sunt cum deo Abraham, quoniam dii fortes terræ vehementer eleuati sint"), from which it differs significantly. It seems likely that this line is a free translation of Buchanan's version, with which it agrees in terms of its content.

- 30 Psalm XLVIII, 20: Którego Bóg sam strożem znakomitym.
 Buchanan, 27-28: Hæc vrbe in illa vidimus cui peruigil
Deus ipse custos excubat.
- 31 Psalm XLVIII, 21-22: Ciebie my w swych uciskach, Panie nasz, wzywamy,
 I Twe ołtarze święte obłapiamy.
 Buchanan, 29-32: O sancte rerum genitor, in rebus malis
Tuam aduocamus dexteram:
 Tuas ad aras supplices aduolimus,
 O rector orbis optime.
- 32 Psalm XLVIII, 29-32: Póďtecie, obydźcie wkoło to miasto wysokie,
 Wieże, i wały pomierzcie szerokie.
 Przypatrujcie się murom, i pałacom złotym,
 Abyście mogli opisać je potym.⁵⁹
 Buchanan, 39-42: Ite, & Sion obambulate, mœnia
 Spectate, turres arduas
 Numerate, fossam & aggerem intuemini,
 Molesque celsas ædium.
- 33 Psalm XLIX, 1-4: Słuchaj, co żywo: wszyscy ziemskie kraje
 Nakłońcie uszu: i kedy dzień wstaje.
I kedy gaśnie: i którym słoneczny
Promień dojmuje, i którym mróz wieczny.⁶⁰
 Buchanan, 1-4: Audite gentes: ortus & occidens
 Aduertite aures, & medio dies
Quos torret axe, & qui vitreum solum
Ponti niuali finditis orbita.
- 34 Psalm XLIX, 9: Zdrojów zakrytej mądrości dobędę
 Buchanan, 9: Fontes recludam iam sapientiæ:
- 35 Psalm XLIX, 19: Brat rodzonego nie odkupi brata,
 Buchanan, 21-22: Germanus auro non redimet suum
 De morte fratrem.

⁵⁹ Although Campensis and Estienne also refer to palaces (cf. Campensis: "considerate diligenter, vt quam sint admiratione digna palatia eius describere possitis"; Estienne: "Aspicite turres [...] q. d. agnoscite quanta sit altitudo palatiorum eius"), the number of similarities between Kochanowski's rendering and Buchanan's version indicate that this is the source of the Pole's version.

⁶⁰ While Kochanowski's manner of expression differs slightly from Buchanan's, nonetheless, the fact that both poets refer to the lands which lie to the east, west, south and north, while the biblical text simply refers to "omnes incolæ orbis", clearly indicates that Kochanowski derived his rendering in these lines from the Scot's paraphrase.

- 36 Psalm XLIX, 33-36: Płocha cześć ludzka, i chłuba znikoma,
Abowiem skoro przyjdzie śmierć łakoma:
 Hardego snadnie z powagi wyzuje,
I tymże torem, co bydło, zajmuje.⁶¹
- Buchanan, 41-44: Ouum vani honoris ver breue floruit,
Lethale spirans mors hyems, viros
Et bruta raptans interitu pari,
 Obluionis nube pari premit.
- 37 Psalm XLIX, 49-50: Używa wczasów, żądzom swym folguje,
 A tenże żywot i drugim cukruje:
- Buchanan, 66-68: [...] perfruitur bonis,
Seseque curat molliter, & monet
 Omnes eundem pergere tramitem:
- 38 Psalm XLIX, 51-52: Przeto też musi ujrzeć niskie kraje,
 Gdzie noc ogromna nigdy nie ustaje.
- Buchanan, 71: Ad regna tractus lucis egentia,
- 39 Psalm XLIX, 55-56: Jesli z fortuna rozum sie nie sprzeże,
Takiejże śmierci co bydło podłęże.
- Buchanan, 73-75: Rectrix honoris ni sapientia
Accesserit, brutis homo bestiis
 Nil interest. [...]
- 40 Psalm L, 1-4: Bóg wieczny, który wszystkim rozkazuje
Ziemijskim Tyrannom, [...]
 Pozowie ziemię od wschodniej granice,
 Aż do słonecznej poźnej łożnice.
- Buchanan, 1-4: Qui frænat æquis legibus arbiter
 Superba regum colla minacium,
 Vocabit in ius orbem ab ortu
 Solis ad hesperium cubile.
- 41 Psalm L, 5-6: Twarcz jasną swoją na Siońskiej ska[ł]e
 Jawnie pokaże: [...] ⁶²
- Buchanan, 5-6: Vultu verendo tum sacer ardua
 Pulchræ Sionis de specula loquens,

⁶¹ The references to the brief duration of honour, and to the arrival of death, suggest the influence of Buchanan's rendering.

⁶² While the reference to God shining forth from Sion clearly derives from the Hebrew text, although Kochanowski has changed the tense from past to future (cf. Calvin: "E Sion perfectione pulchritudinis Deus resplenduit"; Pagninus: "Ex Sion perfectione decoris Deus resplenduit"; Vulgate: "ex Sion species decoris eius"), the reference to God's face rather than his beauty suggests the influence of Buchanan.

- 42 Psalm L, 17-19: Słuchaj potomstwo cnego Izrahela,
Któremu łaska, i moja chęć z wielu
Wieków nie tajna, [...]
- Buchanan, 25-28: Audi Abrahami progenies boni,
Peculiaris gens mihi: te voco,
Testem benignitatis in te
Perpetuæ, & solidi fauoris.
- 43 Psalm L, 25-26: Nie chcę ja, nie chcę z twej obory wołu,
Nie chcę i kozła z twojego okółu.⁶³
- Buchanan, 33-34: Non taurum egens de stabulis peto,
Hircumve caulis. [...]
- 44 Psalm L, 29-30: Ptak oku memu żaden nie uleże,
Gdziekolwiek jedno nachytrzej się leże:⁶⁴
- Buchanan, 37-38: Nec me volucris rupis in edito
Vsquam recessu nidificans latet:
- 45 Psalm L, 42-44: Jako ty wspomnieć Pańskie śmiesz umowy?
Jako w plugawe śmiesz brać usta swoje,
Naświętobliwsze przymierze moje?⁶⁵
- Buchanan, 54-56: Qua fronte Leges tu recitas meas?
Et ore sanctum impurus audes
Sacrilego memorare foedus?
- 46 Psalm L, 47-48: Nauka moja, i święte ustawy
W śmieciach u ciebie, Zakon śmiech prawy.
- Buchanan, 57-60: Tu legum habenis impatiens regi,
Et institutis, moribus & bonis
Iuratus hostis, voce laudas,
Tecum animo mea verba rides.

⁶³ The reference in line 25 to an ox rather than to calves indicates the influence of Buchanan.

⁶⁴ While these lines appear to be a free translation of Buchanan's version, they also bear a certain similarity to Campensis' translation ("Exacte noui genus omne auium, quauis in editissimis montibus nidos suos collocent").

⁶⁵ Although we find something similar in Campensis' version ("Ad impium autem dixit deus, qua fronte tu verbis enumeras constitutiones meas, & pactum meum quod pepigi cum sanctis vel nominare audebis tu?"), the reference to profane lips or mouths in line 43-44 suggests that Kochanowski probably derived his rendering from Buchanan's translation.

- 47 Psalm L, 49-50: U ciebie radę szukać złodziejowi,
Z tobą się znaszać cudzołożnikowi.⁶⁶
- Buchanan, 61-62: Cum fure furti consilium cois,
Mœchis adulter te socium applicas.
- 48 Psalm L, 53-56: Powinowactwo żadne, bliskość żadna,
W twej uszczypliwej mowie nie jest władna:
Czci zostawisz na bracie: niecnota,
Choć z tegoż poszedł z tobą żywota.⁶⁷
- Buchanan, 65-68: Cum fratre iuncti vincula sanguinis
Oris procacis non rabiem premunt:
Infamia germanum eodem
Dedecoras vtero creatum.
- 49 Psalm L, 59-60: Złeś mię rozumiał: obliczyć się z tobą,
I ujrzysz w rychłe swój grzech przed sobą.⁶⁸
- Buchanan, 71-72: Ne crede: tecum expostulabo,
Ante oculos tua facta ponam.
- 50 Psalm L, 65: Ofiara u mnie nawdzięczniejsza, chwała:
- Buchanan, 77-78: Si victimam vis magnificam mihi
Mactare, laudes canta, age gratias.
- 51 Psalm LI, 15: Ześli mi poselstwo wesole, [...]
- Buchanan, 33-34: Si bonus lætum placidusque mittas
Nuntium, [...]
- 52 Psalm LI, 31-32: Otwórz, wieczny Boże, nieme usta moje,
A ja opowiadać będę chwały Twoje.⁶⁹
- Buchanan, 61-62: Tu viam vocis mihi pande: mutum
Tu Deus linguæ moderare plectrum,

⁶⁶ While Kochanowski's manner of expression differs slightly from Buchanan's, nonetheless, the fact that he refers to the ungodly keeping counsel with thieves, and to associating with adulterers, suggests that he made use of the Scot's translation. It should be noted, however, that the reference to the ungodly associating with adulterers also occurs in Campensis' version ("& socius factus es illorum, qui alienas stuprare solent vxores").

⁶⁷ While Kochanowski's manner of expression differs from Buchanan's, the fact that both poets refer to the ungodly's disregard for ties of kinship, a reference which has no equivalent in the biblical text, indicates that here too he has made use of Buchanan's translation.

⁶⁸ While Kochanowski's rendering in line 60 could have derived from Calvin's commentary to verse 21 ("Sic enim interpretor verbum ordinare, quod Deus distincto ordine catalogum omnium scelerum proponet, quem (velint nolint) legere & agnoscere cogantur") or from Campensis' translation ("& disponam ante oculos tuos ordine flagitia tua"), the statement in line 59 that the ungodly have formed an incorrect opinion of God, for which there is no precedent in the biblical text — although it is certainly implied, — suggests that he has derived his rendering in these lines from Buchanan's paraphrase.

⁶⁹ While Kochanowski adheres to the biblical text in these lines, his use of the word "nieme" appears to indicate the influence of Buchanan's translation (cf. Calvin: "Domine labia mea aperias, & os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam"; Campensis: "Aperi domine labia mea: vt os meum prædicet laudes tuas"; Vulgate: "Domine labia mea aperies, & os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam").

- 53 Psalm LI, 35-36: Ofiara przyjemna Bogu duch strapiony,
Serce uniżone, umysł ukorzony.⁷⁰
- Buchanan, 69-71: Pœnitens fraudum scelerumque pectus,
Spiritus fracti, mala cor perosum,
Hæc Deum placant: [...]
- 54 Psalm LII, 15-16: Ale cię, i z domem twoim
Wykorzeni w gniewie swoim.⁷¹
- Buchanan, 15-16: [...] ac domum
Euertet omnem funditus.
- 55 Psalm LII, 25-27: A ja, jako osobliwy
W domu Pańskim krzak oliwy,
Kwitnąć bede: [...]
- Buchanan, 25-27: Ego, ceu virens oliuula,
Domini in agello consita,
Florebo, [...]
- 56 Psalm LIII, 2: Nie masz Boga, przecz sie boim?⁷²
- Buchanan XIV, 2-5: [...] Deum
Formido sibi credula
Commenta est hominum, quum temerario
Casu sors ferat omnia.
- 57 Psalm LIII, 12 Dosyć by sie sprzysia[c] mieli.
- Buchanan XIV, 13-14: Omnes in scelera omnia
Coniurasse putes [...]

⁷⁰ While the details enumerated by the two poets differ somewhat, nonetheless, the fact that both men cite three details (the mind, the spirit and the heart) as those sacrifices which are pleasing to God, suggests that Kochanowski modelled his rendering on the Scot's translation, for the biblical text cites only two (cf. Calvin and Pagninus: "Sacrificia Dei spiritus afflictus, cor afflictum & contritum Deus non despiciet"; Vulgate: "Sacrificium deo spiritus contribulatus, cor contritum & humiliatum deus non despiciet").

It should be noted, however, that Kochanowski's rendering in line 35 appears to owe something to Campensis' version, for he states at the beginning that the following is a list of those sacrifices which are pleasing to God, rather than placing this statement at the end, as in Buchanan's version (cf. Campensis: "Sed sacrificia quibus placatur deus, ea sunt, animus pœnitentia fractus, & cor dolore concussum & vulneratum").

⁷¹ There is little doubt as to the origin of Kochanowski's rendering in these lines for, while the biblical text states that God will cast the shameless man out of his house, only Buchanan refers to the destruction of that house (cf. Calvin: "Etiam Deus perdet te in æternum, rapiet te, & euellet a tabernaculo, & eradicabit te e terra uiuentium"; Campensis: "Quare omnipotens deus subuertet te, perdet te, extrahet te a tabernaculo, & radicitus euellet te de terra uiuentium"; Vulgate: "Propterea deus destruet te in finem, euellet te & emigrabit te de tabernaculo tuo, & radicem tuam de terra uiuentium").

⁷² While Kochanowski, in keeping with the biblical text, has repeated his translation of Psalm XIV almost verbatim (the two Psalms differ only in verse 6), Buchanan has provided a different translation in this Psalm. Elements of Kochanowski's rendering of this Psalm and of Psalm XIV are similar to passages from Buchanan's translation of the two Psalms. It is apparent, therefore, that Kochanowski worked on his rendering of both these Psalms (XIV and LIII) at the same time.

- 58 Psalm LIII, 21-22: Pan niebieskich wysokości
Zetrze ich przekłete kości,
- Buchanan LIII, 31: Nam Dominus ossa conteret, [...]
- 59 Psalm LIII, 25-28: Gdzieś to ta pożądana zorza
Wyniknęła rychło z morza,
Gdy też nas z ciężkiej niewoli
Pan nasz i Bóg nasz wywoli.
- Buchanan LIII, 35-40: En vnquam eo lucifer salutifer
Ab axe promet hunc diem?
Ab arce Dominus quum Sionis ardua
Speratam opem feret suis,
Patriæque vinclis liberos hostilibus
Reddet nepotes Isaci?
- 60 Psalm LIV, 9-10: [...] w też, co na mnie doły
Kopali, wpraw, o Panie, me nieprzyjacioły:⁷³
- Buchanan, 18-20: Suis peribit artibus
Scelestæ fraus, & incident
In ipsa cæci retia
Quæ clam mihi tetenderant.
- 61 Psalm LIV, 13-16: Imię wyzwania godne, imię świętobliwe,
Imię dobrym łagodne, ale złym straszliwe.
Tyś mię z moich trudności, Panie, wyswobodził,
I upadem zazdrości oko me ochłodził.
- Buchanan, 22-28: [...] te canam
Patrem, bonis placabilem,
Malisque formidabilem:
Qui libero molestiis
Mihi dedisti gaudia
Haurire læto lumine
De clade gentis perfidæ.

⁷³ While the Psalmist in Kochanowski's version prays for the ungodly to be driven into their pits rather than their snares as in Buchanan's version, nonetheless, the addition of this detail — that the ungodly will be undone by their own artifice — suggests that Kochanowski is following Buchanan at this point (cf. Calvin: "Rependet malum aduersariis meis"; Campensis: "Ipse retorquet malum, quod mihi parant"; Vulgate: "Auerte mala inimicis meis").

- 62 Psalm LV, 35-36: A Ty, Panie, wysłuchasz, i obronisz snadnie,
Choć na mię nagle wojsko nawiętsze przypadnie.⁷⁴
- Buchanan, 53-56: Inter hostiles dabis vt tumultus
Tutus euadam. mihi nam superbis
Viribus fretus numeroque sæuus
Imminet hostis.
- 63 Psalm LVI, 20: A łzy oczu moich wiadro chowa Twoje.
- Buchanan, 30-31: Vr̃na repostas tu lacrymas meas
Seruas: [...]
- 64 Psalm LVII, 9-12: Mieszkam, nie między ludźmi, ale lwy srogiemi,
Miedzy zwierzęty mieszkam okrutnemi.
Których język szkodliwiej miecza siecze: których
Zęby oszczepów srozsze, i strzał prędkopiórych.⁷⁵
- Buchanan, 13-16: Inter enim sæuos habito feritate leones:
Flammam vomentes versos inter belluas,
Lingua quibus sæuo proscindit acutius ense,
Dentes sagittis, lanceæque cuspidē,
- 65 Psalm LVII, 28: A prawda nad obłoki głowę ukazała.
- Buchanan, 32: Fidesque tractus nubium superuolat.
- 66 Psalm LVIII, 13-14: Ty sam wszeteczne potłucz gęby, Panie,
Aż w nich żadnego zęba niezostanie:⁷⁶
- Buchanan, 17-18: Confringe malas o Deus, impudens
Os comminutis contere dentibus:

⁷⁴ While this passage might derive from Campensis' translation or from Calvin's commentary, both of which refer to the great number of those who joined battle against the Psalmist (cf. Campensis: "Restituit pacem animæ meæ, & liberabit eam a præliantibus contra me, quauis plurimi sunt, qui vndique oppugnant me"; Calvin: "Quidam de hostibus exponunt: ac secundum eos, *mecum tantundem valet ac contra me.* Ita confirmatio esset redemptionis de qua nuper loquutus est: quod ingenti hostium turba obsessus, nonisi admirabili Dei gratia saluus euaserit"), an interpretation which Estienne rejects, Kochanowski's use of apostrophe and reference to the impudence of these enemies suggest that he is following Buchanan here.

⁷⁵ Although the details enumerated in these lines are the same as those in the Hebrew text, Kochanowski's reference to the Psalmist dwelling among animals (line 10), the reversal of the order in which the weapons are listed in the biblical text, and his use of the comparative degree in lines 11-12 all indicate that he has based his rendering in these lines on Buchanan's translation.

⁷⁶ While line 14 is a free translation, nonetheless, it is apparent that Kochanowski has based his rendering in these lines on Buchanan's translation, which contains two imprecations — firstly, that God should break the jaws of the ungodly and, secondly, that He should break their teeth, — rather than the single imprecation in the biblical text for Him to break their teeth.

- 67 Psalm LVIII, 21-24: Pierwej, niż w czernie latorostki nowe,
Albo wyrosta w gałęzi głogowe,
 Niech je surowo, i z korzeniem żywym
 Wicher wykręci duchem popędliwym.⁷⁷
- Buchanan, 29-33: Florentis æui in limine, turbinis
 Vis atra tollat progeniem, prius
Quam surculus spinas tenellus
Exerat, & stimulis acutis
Fœcunda late brachia porrigat.
- 68 Psalm LIX, 11: Pokarz jawnie przewrotne złe ludzi, [...]
- Buchanan, 17-18: Exurge, pœnis impias
Compesce gentes: [...]
- 69 Psalm LIX, 17: Ale wszystka ta groźba za śmiech Tobie stanie,⁷⁸
- Buchanan, 21-23: Meæ salutis tu Deus
 Tutela præsens, irritas
 Ridebis iras, [...]
- 70 Psalm LX, 1-4: Rozproszyłeś nas, Boże, Boże niezmierzony,
 Skaziłeś nas naszemi grzechy obrażony,
 Smiłuj się kiedy, a gniew porzuciwszy,
 Nawróć się do nas teskliwych życzliwszy.
- Buchanan, 1-4: Sancte parens, nostris vitiis offensus, abactos
 Pressosque duris dissipasti nos malis:
 Placatus mitisque veni, iamque immemor iræ,
 Salutis author ad tuos reuertere.
- 71 Psalm LXI, 5-6: Postaw mnie na niedostąpionej skale,
Gdziebych się już mógł nie bać żadnej trwogi.⁷⁹
- Buchanan, 5-6: Me siste rupis culmine in arduo
Procul periclis. [...]

⁷⁷ It is very likely that Kochanowski modelled his rendering on Buchanan's translation, for the second reference to a shoot growing into a thornbush does not occur in the biblical text.

⁷⁸ While these translations are not identical, the fact that both Kochanowski refer to the furious rantings of the ungodly enumerated in the previous verse as the cause of God's laughter, a reference which does not occur in the biblical text, suggests that Kochanowski made use of Buchanan's translation here. It is, however, possible that his rendering owes something to Campensis' translation, where it is said: "Sed tu domine ridebis conatus eorum".

⁷⁹ These lines appear to be a free translation of Buchanan's rendering, for there is no reference to fear or danger in the biblical text (cf. Calvin: "in arcem quæ exaltatur supra me deduces me"; Vulgate: "in petra exaltasti me").

- 72 Psalm LXI, 7-8: W Tobie nadzieja: Ty mię sam masz w cale
Zachować, gdy mię trapi człowiek srogi.⁸⁰
- Buchanan, 6-8: [...] semper enim tui
Spe fretus, hostis tutus ab impetu
Munitæ vt arcis præsidio fui.
- 73 Psalm LXI, 17-18: Tam wolen będąc od wszelkich trudności,
Harfa, i rymem będę Cię wyznawał:
- Buchanan, 21-22: Ac tum periclis liber ab asperis,
Te voce, dulci te cithara canam
- 74 Psalm LXIII, 3-4: Pragnie Cię dusza, pragnie ciało moje,
Jako dżdża ziemia w srogie letne znoje.⁸¹
- Buchanan, 3-4: Te mens anhelat, membra sitiunt languida,
Terra velut pluuias arida quærit aquas.
- 75 Psalm LXIII, 5-8: Acz mieszkam między piaski niepłodnemi,
W suchej, bezwodnej, upagnionej ziemi:
Prze[d]lsię jakoby był w kościele Twoim,
Tak Twój przybytek widzę okiem swoim.⁸²
- Buchanan, 5-8: Quauis arenas aridas æstu colam,
Præsentem dominum mens videt vsque meum,
Non aliter, adyta arcana quam si conspicer,
Numinis adseruant quæ monumenta tui.
- 76 Psalm LXIII, 13-15: Żaden tak ciała pokarm nie smakuje,
Jaka uprzejma dusza rozkosz czuje,
Gdy Pana chwali: [...]
- Buchanan, 15-16: Nec victus æque recreat corpus, tua
Excitat vt mentem laus celebrata meam.
- 77 Psalm LXIII, 23: Wyleją dusze na okrutne miecze,
- Buchanan, 25: Ferro profundent spiritum nefarium.

⁸⁰ These lines are a free translation of Buchanan, for this reference to an assault by David's enemies does not occur in any other translation. It should be noted, however, that Kochanowski's choice of tense in these lines differs from all other translations, which render the verbs in the past tense.

⁸¹ While the reference to the earth desiring water in line 4 might derive from Campensis' translation of verse 2 ("Non aliter quam terra hæc aquam desiderat, ego te in loco sanctitatis tuæ destinato videre cupiui, & contemplari potentiam & maiestatem tuam"), the fact that Kochanowski's rendering of that verse also bears a certain resemblance to Buchanan's translation indicates that he probably made use of the Scot's version here too.

⁸² While Kochanowski has simplified the reference to the temple (for this is what Buchanan means by "adyta arcana [...] Numinis adseruant quæ monumenta tui") and speaks of seeing God present with his own eye rather than with his mind, nonetheless lines 7-8 bear a striking resemblance to Buchanan's translation (cf. Calvin: "in terra squalida, & siticulosa sine aquis. Sic in Sanctuario conspexi te ad videndum robur tuum & gloriam tuam"; Vulgate: "In deserta inuia & inaquosa sic in sancto apparui tibi, vt viderem virtutem tuam & gloriam tuam").

- 78 Psalm LXIII, 27-28: [...] potwarce przekłęci
Gęby swe stulą nagłym strachem zjęci.
Buchanan, 29: Metu stupentes conticenscent impii.
- 79 Psalm LXIV, 33: Zastrzał to śmiertelny:
Buchanan, 27-28: Et lethalia certa
Figet vulnera dextera.
- 80 Psalm LXIV, 37-38: Strach ludzi ogarnie,
Patrzac, [...] ⁸³
Buchanan, 29: Spectantes gelidus corripit timor,
- 81 Psalm LXV, 9-10: Teraz (niestetyż) dawne nasze złości
Nas dolegają: [...]
Buchanan, 9-10: Nostra nunc iustis scelerata facta
Nos premunt pœnis: [...]
- 82 Psalm LXV, 13-15: Szczęśliwy kto sie upodobał Tobie,
I kogoś obrał przyjacielem sobie.
Aby przebywał w Twoim domu świętym ⁸⁴
Buchanan, 13-16: O quater plusquam quater o beatos
Quos leges, lectos facies amicos:
Vt colant puri tibi dedicati
Atria templi.
- 83 Psalm LXV, 27-28: [...] mieniać boje
W lube pokoje.
Buchanan, 35-36: [...] placidaque mutas
Pace tumultus.
- 84 Psalm LXV, 29-30: Twych gromów srogich ludzie sie lękają,
Którzy w nadalszych krainach mieszkają:
Buchanan, 37-40: Vltimi rerum tua signa norunt,
Et colunt fines, quoties coruscis
Turgidum flammis fremuit sonoro
Murmure cælum.

⁸³ While the substance of what is said in these lines agrees with the biblical text, Kochanowski's manner of expression is almost identical to Buchanan's translation.

⁸⁴ While the reference to friendship might derive from the translations of Calvin or Campensis (cf. Calvin: "propinquum feceris tibi"; Campensis: "tibi propinquum feceris") and the subjunctive in line 15 might derive from Pagninus' translation ("ut habitet in atriis tuis"), the fact that both of these elements occur in consecutive lines strongly suggests the influence of Buchanan.

- 85 Psalm LXV, 37-38: Ty nocną rosę na suchę zagony
Spuszczasz, [...]
- Buchanan, 53-54: Rore tu leni sola contumacis
Maceras terræ, [...]
- 86 Psalm LXV, 47-48: [...] a pełen nadzieje
Oracz sie śmieje.
- Buchanan, 65-66: Spes aratoris cupidas fouebit
Fluctuans latis seges alma campis:
- 87 Psalm LXVI, 1-4: Wszystka ziemia, wszyscy kraje,
I gdzie jasne słońce wstaje,
I gdzie w bystre szumne morze
Zapadają pozne zorze.
- Buchanan, 1-2: Incolæ terrarum ab ortu
Solis, vltimum ad cubile,
- 88 Psalm LXVI, 19-20: Dziwny to Pan, dziwnie radzi
O swej na świecie czeladzi.⁸⁵
- Buchanan, 23-24: Facta Domini consulentis
Arte mira seruulis.
- 89 Psalm LXVI, 31-32: Niech po świecie pełno wszędzie
Jego zacnej chwały będzie.⁸⁶
- Buchanan, 37-38: Laus Deo nostro per omnes
Orbis oras: [...]
- 90 Psalm LXVI, 33-34: Ten nas z swej dobroci żywej,
Odjął śmierci ukwapliwej.⁸⁷
- Buchanan, 40-41: Morte liberauit vnus
Nos propinqua: [...]

85 This might equally derive from Campensis' translation ("Venite considerate opera dei, & perpendite: quam admirando consilio genus humanum gubernet"), although the reference to God's servant rather than to the race of men indicates that Buchanan's translation is the more likely source of Kochanowski's rendering in these lines.

86 While the exhortation in Buchanan's version for God to be praised in every region of the earth appears to be based on the first clause of the biblical text (Calvin "Benedicite populi Deum nostrum"), nonetheless, it seems to be the most likely source of Kochanowski's rendering in these lines.

87 This passage might also have derived from Estienne's note to Pagninus' translation ("perinde est igitur acsi dixisset, Dominus excitauit nos a morte"), for it is not certain whether Kochanowski is referring to them being saved from impending death or being restored to life. The reference to impending death Buchanan's translation probably derives from Calvin's commentary: "Quanquam autem redditam Iudæis fuisse vitam prædicat [...] mox tamen ostendit, potius seruatos fuisse a periculo, quam postliminio restitutos ab aliqua clade".

- 91 Psalm LXVI, 51: I ołtarze krwią napoje,
 Buchanan, 55-59: [...] pinguis agnus,
 Cornigerque agni parens,
 Bos & hircus sanguine aras
 Imbuent: [...]
- 92 Psalm LXVII, 1-2: Pokryj swym miłosierdziem, Panie, nasze złości,
 A racz nam błogostawić z ojcowski[e]j miłości:
 Buchanan, 1-8: Arbiter mundi, placidis bonusque
 Parce delictis, solito & fauore
 Terra fac lætis segetem pecusque
 Nutriet aruis.
 Nota per terras bonitas vt omnes
 Sit tua, & nostræ studium salutis,
 Mente quos curas patria, tegisque
 Rebus in arctis.
- 93 Psalm LXVIII, 1: O, który światem władasz, i królujesz wiecznie,
 Buchanan, 1: O qui perpetuis orbem moderaris habenis,
- 94 Psalm LXVIII, 5: Tak zniszczę jako dym na powietrzu ginie,
 Buchanan, 4-6: [...] repente facesset,
 Vt leuis in tenues fumi vapor effugit auras,
- 95 Psalm LXVIII, 11-12: Panu, który na wierzchu nieba nawysszego
 Stolicę swą zasadził: [...]
 Buchanan, 14: Qui celsi e vertice mundi
- 96 Psalm LXVIII, 13-14: Ten na niebie mieszkając, okiem litościwym
 Patrzy na ludzkie troski: [...]
 Buchanan, 14-15: Qui celsi e vertice mundi
 Respicias humanas curas: [...]
- 97 Psalm LXVIII, 16: Ten niepłodnym potomstwo daje: [...]⁸⁸
 Buchanan, 17-18: [...] qui prole beata
 Steriles solare hymenæos.

⁸⁸ This might also derive from Campensis' translation ("Deus facit, vt qui pauloante fuerunt soli sine liberis, nunc habeant domum familia plenissimam") or from Estienne's note ("Habitate facit vnico in domo: Hebraismus, pro, efficit vt qui liberos carebant, habeant amplam familiam").

- 98 Psalm LXVIII, 23-24: Ale[ś] pogodnym deszczem swój grunt polubiony
Napoił, i ochłodził zamarte zagony.
- Buchanan, 27-29: Arua sibi selecta bonus rigat imbre benigno:
Et quum labefacta fatiscunt,
Confirmat, recreatque afflicta: [...]
- 99 Psalm LXVIII, 31-34: Byście wy między garncy w szczerych sadzach spali,
Przetsię wy swoją krasą będziecie równali
Z gołębiem naśliczniejszym, od którego szije
Malowanej, to srebrny, to złoty blask bije.⁸⁹
- Buchanan, 39-44: Viestra licet somno sternantur corpora nigræ
Inter fulginis ollas,
Illa tamen vincent nitidam candore columbam
Rutilæ ceruicis honore,
Quæ nunc argentum nitidum, nunc lumina blandum
Radiantis prouocat auri.
- 100 Psalm LXVIII, 42-44: [...] tu Bóg osobiwe
Mieszkanie sobie obrał: i niechce na wieki
Tego miejsca wypuścić z Pańskiej swej opieki.⁹⁰
- Buchanan, 55-56: Quem propriam pater omnipotens in sæcula sedem
Legit, lectamque tuetur.
- 101 Psalm LXVIII, 45-46: [...] wozów nieuchronnych
Ćmy nieprzeżrane stoją, i Anyotów konnych.⁹¹
- Buchanan, 57-58: Ille pater quem cælituum tot millia currum,
Equitum tot millia stipant:
- 102 Psalm LXVIII, 55-56: Bóg nasz, nadzieja nasza: to szafarz żywota,
Ten ma w swoim władaniu czarnej śmierci wrota.⁹²
- Buchanan, 68-71: [...] salutis
Vnica spes nostræ: nempe vnus fræna gubernas
Vitæ, irremeabilis Orci
Vnus claustra tenes, & nutum fata sequuntur.

⁸⁹ While we find something similar in Campensis' translation of this verse ("Si hucusque inter fuligine obductas ollas iacuistis, & tam atri quam carbo facti estis eritis post hac tam candidi, quam alæ alicuius columbæ: etiam si argento exornaata fuerit: & pennæ illius eleganter admixtum habeant auri pallorem"), nonetheless, the fact that both Kochanowski and Buchanan refer to the dove's neck as the source of these various hues indicates that Kochanowski probably derived his rendering in these lines from the Scot's version.

⁹⁰ While the reference to God choosing Mt. Sion as His dwelling-place is common to the biblical text (cf. Calvin: "mons in quo placuit Deo habitare"; Vulgate: "Mons in quo beneplacitum est deo habitare in eo"), the reference to God protecting or defending it is peculiar to Buchanan's translation.

⁹¹ While Buchanan does not mention the cavalry of Angels specifically, he does mention cavalry, a detail which is not present in the biblical text, which refers instead to Angels. It should be noted, however, that Campensis also refers to cavalry ("Equitatus dei centenorum est milium, habet & angelorum milia"), though his translation omits the reference to chariots. Thus it is probable that Kochanowski has conflated Buchanan's translation and the biblical text.

⁹² In addition to the similarities between the two versions which I have indicated here, it is also possible that "szafarz żywota" is a free translation of "fræna gubernas / Vitæ".

- 103 Psalm LXVIII, 65-68: [...] przed nami
Postępują trębacze z bębny, i z trabami.
Brzmia lutnie, brzmia piszczałki: a panny uczciwe
W uszy ludzkie podają piosnki osobliwe.
- Buchanan, 85-89: Anteibunt qui voce canant, qui cymbala pulsant,
Citharæ tuba iuncta, tubæque
Tibia, quæque tuas celebrant fortissime laudes,
Doctæ pulsare puellæ
Tympana: [...]
- 104 Psalm LXVIII, 76-77: [...] a Ty niezwalczony
Rozgrom zbrojne harcerze, i groźne hetmany
- Buchanan, 101-102: [...] tu freta sagittis
Lethalibus agmina fundis:
- 105 Psalm LXVIII, 81-84: Królestwa świata tego Pana wysławiajcie,
Panu chwałę powinna, i wdzięczny psalm dajcie.
Panu z wieków na niebie przebywającemu:
Ten swym głosem jest straszny stworzeniu każdemu.
- Buchanan, 111-114: Regna hominum celebrate Deum: date carmina regi,
Qui templa gubernat olympi
Æterna æternus: cuius mortalia cuncta
Vocem tremefacta pauescunt.
- 106 Psalm LXIX, 11: Ty wiesz moję prostotę, wiekuisty Boże,
- Buchanan, 11: Simplicitas tibi nota mea est, bone conditor orbis,
- 107 Psalm LXIX, 15: Prze Cię ja uraganie, i sznupki odnoszę,⁹³
- Buchanan, 15: Te propter maledicta tuli & ludibria vulgi:
- 108 Psalm LXIX, 21-22: Twój pośmiech, Twoja wzgarda, na mię sie wracają,
Mnie serce trapią, mnie zapalają.
- Buchanan, 21-22: In tua quæ iactant probra & conuitia, sacra,
In me recurrunt, corque vulnerant meum.
- 109 Psalm LXIX, 23-24: Jeslim płakał, jeslim swe postem dręczył ciało,
Wszystko mi to śmiech u nich jednało.⁹⁴
- Buchanan, 23-24: Si fleo ieiunus, si macero pectora curis,
Rident, probrisque prosequuntur lacrymas.

⁹³ The fact that both Kochanowski and Buchanan mention two details here, while the biblical text contains only one ("opprobrium"), strongly suggests that Kochanowski has modelled his rendering in this line on the Scot's.

⁹⁴ While we find something similar in Campensis' rendering ("Si quando fletu, & ieiunio afligebam me, ipsi probro verterunt id mihi"), Kochanowski's reference to David's enemies laughing at him on account of his grief, rather than putting him to shame, suggests that he probably derived his rendering from Buchanan's translation.

- 110 Psalm LXIX, 25-26: Jesli mię w grubym chodząc worze upatrzyli,
Przypowieść ze mnie wnet uczynili.
- Buchanan, 25-26: Si tegor incultos saccis squalentibus artus,
Fio repente fabula & ludibrium,
- 111 Psalm LXIX, 29: W tym frasunku ja przetsię garne sie do Ciebie,
- Buchanan, 29-30: Interea curis genitor confectus acerbis
Ad te recurro:
- 112 Psalm LXIX, 35-36: Wielkie jest, Boże wieczny, miłosierdzie Twoje,
Skłoń ku mnie ucho łaskawe swoje.⁹⁵
- Buchanan, 37-38: Sancte parens, nullos cuius clementia fines
Nouit, vocantem & destitutum respice.
- 113 Psalm LXIX, 39-40: Przybądź duszy na ratunk, aby niezmiekczony
Mój nieprzyjaciół był zawstydzony.
- Buchanan, 41: [...] serua hanc animam, vt pudor obruat hostes,
- 114 Psalm LXXI, 11: Jeszczem u piersi wisiął nędznej matki swojej,⁹⁶
- Buchanan, 13-15: Tu me tuendum matris ab vbere
Duxti: pependit matris ab vbere
Spes nostra de te. [...]
- 115 Psalm LXXI, 15-16: Żaden dzień bez Twej chwały u mnie nie przeminie,
Żadna noc bez pamiątki Twojej nie upłynie.
- Buchanan, 21-22: Me lux videbit, me tenebræ tuas
Laudes canentem: [...]
- 116 Psalm LXXI, 27-29: A ja więc próżen strachu, i w myśli bezpieczny
Tobie nową pieśń zacznę, o mój Boże wieczny.
Wyznam Cię w obietnicach Twoich nie omylnym,
- Buchanan, 37-38: Liber periclis, carmine te nouo
Pangam tenacem polliciti, [...]
- 117 Psalm LXXI, 41: Tyś mię był prawie w morze trósk rozlicznych wprawił,
- Buchanan, 54: Qui me malorum gurgite merseras:

⁹⁵ Kochanowski has omitted the first clause of the biblical text (cf. Calvin: "Responde mihi Iehoua, quoniam bona clementia tua: in multitudine miserationum tuarum respice me"; Vulgate: "Exaudi me domine, quoniam benigna est misericordia tua, secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum respice me"). This omission suggests the influence of Buchanan's translation.

⁹⁶ That both Kochanowski and Buchanan refer to the breast, while the biblical text refers to the womb, strongly suggests that Kochanowski made use of Buchanan's translation.

- 118 Psalm LXXII, 9-10: I będzie jego imie na ziemi
Miedzy narody straszne wszytkiemi:
- Buchanan, 17-18: Vt reformidet venientis æui
Gens tuum nomen, [...]
- 119 Psalm LXXII, 19-20: Aby nie miał trwać, póki krag wdzięczny
Ir[ó]ść, i niknać będzie miesięczny.
- Buchanan, 26-28: [...] perenni
Luna dum cursu rediens nouabit
Menstrua vultus.
- 120 Psalm LXXII, 29-32: Królowie, którzy morzem władają,
I wyspom morskim prawa dawają,
Dary poniosą: dań Arabczycy
Płacić Mu będą, i Sabejczycy.⁹⁷
- Buchanan, 37-40: Qui tenent pontum refluque ponti
Insulas, regesque Arabum beati,
Thuris & dites venient Sabæi,
Dona ferentes.
- 121 Psalm LXXII, 33-34: Owa, cokolwiek wodami swemi
Ocean zawarł, [...] ⁹⁸
- Buchanan, 41-42: Illum adorabunt, mare qua remotis
Obstreptit terris, [...]
- 122 Psalm LXXII, 46-47: Że, jaki z Cedrów szum na Libanie,
Taki chrzest kłosów po górach wszędzie,⁹⁹
- Buchanan, 57-60: Per feros montes segetem refundat
Terra, tam densis crepitans aristis
Quam graui cedros Libani flagellant
Murmure venti.

(b) Flaminus.

(c) Hesus.

(d) Spinula.

There is no evidence to suggest that Kochanowski made use of the translations by Flaminus, Hesus or Spinula in this book.

⁹⁷ While the reference to kings of Arabia might derive from the Vulgate text or from Campensis' translation, the fact that Kochanowski's rendering contains both this detail and the reference to those kings who rule the sea — for Tharsis, as we have seen elsewhere, denotes the Mediterranean, — suggests that he has based his rendering on Buchanan's translation.

⁹⁸ While Kochanowski's rendering does not tally precisely with Buchanan's, nonetheless, the fact that both poets refer to the sea and the biblical text does not, strongly suggests that Kochanowski made use of Buchanan's translation here.

⁹⁹ This might equally derive from Campensis' translation, which also contains a reference to ears of corn ("vt si vento agitetur strepitum excitent aristæ plenæ, qualem altissimæ cedri in monte Libano solent").

6.3.1: Analysis: Book 2

It will be seen from the table below that Kochanowski makes greater use of Estienne's notes in this book than in Book 1,¹⁰⁰ and rather less use of Campensis' translation.¹⁰¹ In addition, there is no evidence to suggest that he made any use of the verse translations by Eobanus Hessus, Marco Antonio Flaminius or Publio Francesco Spinula.

As before, the influence of Buchanan can be seen almost everywhere. Indeed, there are only two Psalms in this book (Psalms 62 and 70) in which Kochanowski has not imitated Buchanan, and for one of those (Psalm 70) it has not been possible to identify any source.

Book 2										
Psalms	Prose Translations				Commentaries		Verse Translations			
	Calvin	Camp	Pagn.	Vulg.	Calvin	Est.	Buch.	Flam.	Hess.	Spin.
XLII				1		2	3			
XLIII				1			2			
XLIV	1		1	2	3	1	4			
XLV				1	1	1	9			
XLVI				1	1		7			
XLVII				1	1		3			
XLVIII					2		4			
XLIX					6		7			
L					3	2	11			
LI				2	1	1	3			
LII					2		2			
LIII		1					4			
LIV				1		1	2			
LV	1			1	2		1			
LVI		2		2		1	1			
LVII		1			1	2	2			
LVIII	1	1	1				2			
LIX	1	2			1		2			
LX							1			
LXI							3			
LXII						1				
LXIII					1		5			
LXIV					2		2			
LXV		1			1	1	6			
LXVI			1	1			5			
LXVII				1			1			
LXVIII		1		1	5	4	13			
LXIX		3		2	2		8			
LXX										
LXXI	1	1					4			
LXXII			1	1	4	2	5			

¹⁰⁰ Kochanowski made use of Estienne's notes in only eight of the forty-one Psalms in Book 1 (19.5%), and in twelve of the thirty-one Psalms in Book 2 (38.7%).

¹⁰¹ Kochanowski made use of Campensis' translation in fifteen out of the forty-one Psalms in Book 1 (36.6%), compared with only nine of the thirty-one Psalms in Book 2 (29%).

It is rather harder to determine when Kochanowski worked on the Psalms in this book than it was for the Psalms in Book 1. Of the twelve Psalms which Stanisław Dobrzycki claimed to be able to date with reasonable certainty,¹⁰² six occur in Book 1, and only two (Psalms 44 and 56) in Book 2. For both of these, Dobrzycki only offers an approximate date, stating that they were composed in or before 1571.

The tables showing the sources used in the five books of *Psałterz Dawidów* reveal that in two-thirds of those Psalms believed by Dobrzycki to have been translated before 1571 there is no evidence that Kochanowski made use of the translations by Campensis and Pagninus¹⁰³ or of Estienne's notes. Of the remaining four Psalms, two (Psalms 33 and 44) contain passages where Kochanowski has made use of Pagninus' translation, two (Psalms 56 and 116) where he has made use of Campensis' translation, and three (Psalms 44, 56 and 116) where he has made use of Estienne's notes. Given the marked increase in the use of Campensis and Estienne between Book 1 and the later books,¹⁰⁴ it seems likely that these four Psalms were composed towards the end of this early period, at a time when Kochanowski had selected those sources and models on which he was to rely once the scope of the project had changed from a translation of a few Psalms to the entire Book of Psalms.

However, it is still necessary to try to account for the relatively low number of Psalms in which Kochanowski has used Campensis' translation in this book. Here, as in Book 1, the Psalms in which elements of Campensis' translation are discernible occur, for the most part, in clusters.¹⁰⁵ This, together with the fact that Kochanowski's use of Campensis' translation in both of the first two books (36.6% and 29% respectively) is significantly lower than the statistical average (51.4%), suggests that he may not have owned a copy of Campensis' translation at the time that he was working on Books 1 and 2.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Psalms 1, 15, 19, 20, 33, 34, 44, 56, 82, 100, 116 and 128.

¹⁰³ There is no significant change in Kochanowski's use of Pagninus' translation which features in 12.2% of the Psalms in Book 1 and 12.9% of those in Book 2.

¹⁰⁴ The statistics show that Kochanowski made great use of Campensis' translation in the later books (Book 3: 70.6%; Book 4: 70.6%; Book 5: 50%). The percentages for Estienne remain around the 30% mark (Book 2: 38.7%; Book 4: 29.4%; Book 5: 36.4%).

Set against these statistics, Kochanowski's use of Campensis' translation in Book 2 (29%) and of Estienne's notes in Books 1 and 3 (19.5% and 58.8% respectively) seems to buck the trend.

¹⁰⁵ cf. Book 1: Psalms 10, 17-18, 21-24, 31, 34, 36-41; Book 2: Psalms 53, 55-59, 65, 68-69, 71.

¹⁰⁶ It is, of course, equally possible that Campensis' free translation ("paraphrastica interpretatio") did not meet Kochanowski's needs in these other Psalms, although this does not account either for the apparent grouping of instances where he did use Campensis' translation or for the low percentage of use.

Finally, I would like to focus briefly on the Vulgate text. It appears that Kochanowski regarded this, the only Latin version of the Bible officially sanctioned by the Catholic Church, as being a translation — and as such, fallible, — rather than the word of God. However, while he regards this text as just another source and, thus, no different from those by Calvin, Campensis, Pagninus and others, it is worth noting that he makes rather more use of this text in Book 1 than in the later books.¹⁰⁷

However, it is to something of particular interest in Psalm 42, lines 5-6, that I wish to draw attention. The passage in question reads:

Ciebie żywego, wieczny Boże, zdroja
Upracowana pragnie dusza moja:

This metaphor, that God is a fountain or spring, apparently derives from the Vulgate text.¹⁰⁸ However, there is some dispute between editors of the Vulgate text as to whether the text should read "ad Deum fontem viuum" or "ad Deum fortem, viuum", a reading which finds support in the Hebrew text. The latter reading finds its way into the Vulgate text as cited in the parallel-text edition of Pagninus' translation as well as into the edition of the Vulgate which appeared in Venice in 1542,¹⁰⁹ while the former reading is preferred in the following editions: [Lyons, 1510], Paris, 1545; Paris, 1552; [Paris or Geneva], 1555; [Geneva], 1567. Thus, while it is not possible to determine which edition of the Vulgate Kochanowski possessed, the evidence in this Psalm indicates that it was a northern European edition.

¹⁰⁷ cf. Book 1: 52.3%; Book 2: 43.4%; Book 3: 41.2%; Book 4: 29.4%; Book 5: 18.2%.

¹⁰⁸ cf. v.2: "Sitiuit anima mea ad deum fontem viuum, [...]"

¹⁰⁹ It may also appear in other editions. However, I have not yet been able to ascertain which of the numerous editions of the Vulgate text also contain this reading.

6.4: Book 3

I. Prose Translations.

(a) Calvin.

- 1 Psalm LXXIV, 39: Sinogarlice swojej bestiom nie dawaj,¹
 Calvin, v. 19: Ne des bestiæ animam turturis tuæ, [...]
 Vulgate LXXIII, v. 19: Ne tradas bestiis animas confitentium tibi, [...]
- 2 Psalm LXXVII, 33-34: Widziały Cię, O Boże, wody: widziały,
 I lęły sie: a morskie przepaści drżały.²
 Calvin, v. 17: Viderunt te aquæ Deus, viderunt te aquæ: timuerunt,
 etiam contremuerunt abyssi.
 Vulgate LXXVI, v. 16: Videunt te aquæ deus, viderunt te aquæ, & timuerunt:
 & turbatæ sunt aquæ.
- 3 Psalm LXXVIII, 36: I głodne ludzi swoje mięsem opatrować?³
 Calvin, v. 20: [...] an parabit carnem populo suo?
 Vulgate LXXVII, v. 20: [...] aut parare mensam populo suo?
- 4 Psalm LXXXIV, 23: Wolę wrót domu Twego strzedz, [...]
 Calvin, v. 11: [...] elegi limen tenere in domo Dei mei, [...]
 Vulgate LXXXIII, v. 10: Elegi abiectus esse in domo dei mei, [...]
- 5 Psalm LXXXVIII, 21-22: Czy umarłym cuda chcesz okazować? czyli
Umarli wstawszy będą Cię czcili?
 Calvin, v. 11: An mortuis facies miraculum? an mortui surgentes
 confitebuntur tibi?
 Vulgate LXXXVII, v. 10: Nunquid mortuis facies mirabilia, aut medici suscitabunt
 & confitebuntur tibi?

¹ While both Campensis and Pagninus retain the reference to the turtle-dove in their translation (cf. Campensis: "Ne obieceris multitudini hostium turturem tuam,"; Pagninus: "Ne tradas congregationi inimicorum animam turturis tuæ:"), the fact that Kochanowski's version contains an imprecation for the turtle-dove not to be handed over to beasts rather than to enemies, indicates that the poet derived his reading from Calvin's translation.

² While the reference to abysses is common to all translations of the Hebrew text (cf. Campensis: "Vbi te vidissent aquæ deus, vidissent inquam te aquæ, viribus destitutæ sunt: & conterritæ sunt abyssi"; Pagninus: "Viderunt te aquæ, Deus, viderunt te aquæ: & timuerunt, etiam commotæ sunt voragines"), the fact that Kochanowski states that they shook rather than that they were moved or disturbed strongly suggests that he has based his rendering on Calvin's translation of the Hebrew.

³ While the reference to meat is common to all the Latin translations of the Hebrew text (cf. Campensis: "posset ne car[nem] præbere populo"; Pagninus: "num apparabit carnem populo suo?"), Kochanowski's rendering is closest to Calvin's.

(b) Campensis.

- 1 Psalm LXXIV, 5-8: Wspomni na piękną skałę poświęconą Tobie
Siońską, gdzieś Ty obrał był mieszkanie sobie[.]
- Campensis, v. 2: Recordare [...] & in montem hunc Sion, quem ipse ad inhabitandum elegisti tibi.
- 2 Psalm LXXIV, 19-20: Co gorsza, znaków żadnych, żadnego nie znamy
Proroka, żeby wiedzieć, póki w tym trwać mamy.
- Campensis, v. 9: [...] nec vllus est propheta, nec quenquam dedisti nobis, qui scire possit: quando horum sperare liceat finem.
- 3 Psalm LXXV, 25-27: U Pana w ręku pełna czasza stoi
Przykrego moszczu: tym złe ludzi poi,
Lejąc im drożdże, i jad niewidomy
- Campensis, v. 8: Habet enim dominus in manu poculum, in quo pulchre rubet vinum: sed cui plurimum est fecis admixtum: ex hoc porriget mera cum piis, fecem vero noxiam erugere, imo epotare coget impios omnes, [...]
- 4 Psalm LXXVII, 43-44: Przewiodłeś, jako stado, za Mojżeszowym,
I za powodem, lud swój, Aaranowym.
- Campensis, v. 20: Duxisti olim non aliter, quam pastor gregem sibi commissum solet, populum tuum ministerio Mosæ & Aron.
- 5 Psalm LXXVIII, 71-72: Wspomionał, że są ciało, i duch niewrócony,
Kiedy raz będzie z swego mieszkania ruszony.
- Campensis, v. 39: In memoria habebat: quod caro essent ipsi, variis & stultis concupiscentiis obnoxii, & spiritus abiens suapte natura non reuersurus.
- 6 Psalm LXXVIII, 115-116: On swój lud ulubiony, i dziedzictwo swoje
Przywiódł na ostre miecze: i na ciężkie boje.⁴
- Campensis, v. 62: Et implicuit bello cruento populum, & in hæreditatem suam excanduit.

⁴ While the reference to God putting His people to the sword is present in the Vulgate text and in other translations of the Hebrew text, the reference to battles appears to derive from Campensis' translation.

- 7 Psalm LXXVIII, 117: Młódź wysieczono, panny ślubu nie czekały,⁵
Campensis, v. 63: Adoloscetes illius absumpsit gladius, & virgines sine honore perierunt innuptæ.
- 8 Psalm LXXIX, 19-20: Gniew pożarowy srogiemu
Równy nieugaszonemu.⁶
Campensis, v. 5: [...] exardescet ne sicut ignis ira tua?
- 9 Psalm LXXX, 23-24: Rozwiódłeś jej płodne różgi do morza samego,
A jej piękne latorośli do bródu wielkiego.
Campensis, v. 11: Extendisti ramos illius vsque ad mare, & vsque ad flumen surculos eius.
- 10 Psalm LXXX, 34: A z gruntu prawie niszczą, gniew Twój na sie czując.
Campensis, v. 16: [...] quæ si durauerit, funditus peribunt, qui hac vinea significantur omnes.
- 11 Psalm LXXXI, 3: Bijcie w bębny, [...]
Campensis, v. 2: [...] & pulsate tympanum: [...]
- 12 Psalm LXXXI, 45-46: A żadnejby wiecznie już odmiany
Nieznał był mój lud wybrany:
Campensis, v. 15: [...] populus autem meus felicia vidisset tempora perpetuo.
- 13 Psalm LXXXIII, 1-4: Nie milcz, ani odkładaj: nie cierp, Boże wieczny,
Oto przeciwko Tobie powstał lud wszeteczny.⁷
Campensis, v. 1: Deus ne taceas quæso diutius, neque sileas: neque feras
amplius omnipotens deus.

⁵ It is likely that the reference to "Młódź" in line 117 was influenced by the parallel between the young men and young women established by Campensis, Pagninus and the translator of the Vulgate text (cf. Pagninus: "Iuuenes eius vorauit ignis, & virgines eius non fuerunt laudatæ"; Vulgate: "Iuuenes eorum comedit ignis, & virgines eorum non sunt lamentatæ"). However, the fact that Kochanowski refers to these youths being put to the sword rather than being burned indicates that he did not base his rendering on Pagninus' translation or on the Vulgate text. Consequently, he must have derived his translation from Campensis' version.

As far as the reference to unmarried girls is concerned, this might derive from Estienne's note ("Laudatæ. sub. epithalamiis nuptialibus. i. permanserunt innuptæ. Solebant nanque laudes virginum canere in nuptiis, vnde epithalamia fuerunt composita. propterea de nuptiis loquens, dicit virgines non fuisse laudatas, quod nulli essent sponsi qui eas ducerent.")

⁶ This reference to anger rather than to zeal might equally derive from Buchanan's translation.

⁷ While it is not certain that the imprecation for God not to delay derives from Campensis' translation, it is reasonably certain that this is the source of the exhortation "nie cierp" (cf. Calvin: "ne quiescas"; Vulgate: "neque compescaris").

- 14 Psalm LXXXIII, 5-6: Pódźmy (prawi) zgładźmy ten naród nienadany,
Niech Izrael nie będzie wiecznie mianowany.
Campensis, v. 4: Statuerunt inter se proficisci in bellum, & extirpare
penitus illos, qui tuæ curæ relictī sunt: & delere sic eos
e numero hominum: vt nunquam amplius mentio fiat
nominis Israelitici populi.
- 15 Psalm LXXXIII, 12: Przyciągnął ku pomocy potomkom Lotowym.⁸
Campensis LXXXIII, v. 8: [...] auxilio venerunt filiis Loth.
- 16 Psalm LXXXIII, 13-14: Ale Ty, O nasz Panie, tak poczynaj z niemi,
Jakoś począł z Sizarą, i z Madińskimi,
Campensis, v. 9: Fac illis quod olim fecisti Meadean & Sisare, [...]
- 17 Psalm LXXXIII, 25-26: Jako straszliwy ogień, jako pożar, który
Gęste lasy pustoszy, i odziane góry.
Campensis, v. 14: Sicut ignis in syluam immissus: & flamma in cacumen
montium: quæ per obuia dumeta volitans vastat cuncta
absque vilo impedimento.
- 18 Psalm LXXXV, 15: Okaż swą litość, niechaj łaskę znamy,⁹
Campensis, v. 7: Fac sentiamus domine benignitatem tuam, [...]
- 19 Psalm LXXXVI, 1-2: Nakłoń, Panie, uszu swoich,
A nie zarzucaj modlitw moich:
Campensis, v. 1: Præbe aurem tuam, & responde votis meis: [...]
- 20 Psalm LXXXVI, 9-10: Smiłuj się, smiłuj: Twej pomocy
Od rana wołam aż do nocy.
Campensis, v. 3: Misereat te mei domine: imploro enim assidue, &
implorabo auxilium tuum.
- 21 Psalm LXXXVI, 17-18: Skłóńże, O Panie, uszy swoje,
Na uniżone prośby moje:
Campensis, v. 6: Aures præbe domine precatōni meæ: [...]

⁸ This line might equally derive from the Vulgate text ("[...] facti sunt in adiutorium filiis Loth"), although the verb is closer to Campensis' rendering.

⁹ This line appears to be a conflation of two different translations of the first clause of this verse, for "Okaż swą litość" corresponds to "Ostende nobis [...] misericordiam tuam" in the Vulgate text and Calvin's translation, while "niechaj łaskę znamy" clearly derives from Campensis' translation.

- 22 Psalm LXXXVII, 23-24: [...] jestli w głowie mojej
Też co takiego, wszystko ku czci Twojej.
Campensis, v. 7: [...] & mea omnia studia occupata erunt in laudando te,
propter hæc tam mira quæ fient in te.
- 23 Psalm LXXXIX, 3-4: A pierwszej świat (rzecz pewna) wniwecz się obróci,
Niżli się Pańskie Twoje słowo nazad wróci.¹⁰
Campensis, v. 1: [...] & docebo ore meo non esse dubitandum cuiquam
de fide tua: quin præstaturus sis quicquid promiseris
vnquam.
- 24 Psalm LXXXIX, 5-6: Które to było: Słudze Dawidowi swemu
Obiecuję, a on niech ufa słowu memu.¹¹
Campensis, v. 3: Percussi fœdus, inquit dominus, cum eo, quem elegi
ipse mihi, & iuramento confirmaui illud, ne vllam
habeat dubitandi causam seruus meus Dauid.

(c) Pagninus.

- 1 Psalm LXXVII, 18: Czy się wiekuistego słowa przebrało?
Pagninus, v. 9: [...] defecit verbum in generationem & generationem?
- 2 Psalm LXXXIV, 21-22: Dzień jeden u mnie w Twoim pałacu strawiony,
Lepszy, niż indziej wiek niezliczony.¹²
Pagninus, v. 11: Quia melior est dies in atriis tuis, quam alibi mille: [...]
- 3 Psalm LXXXVIII, 29-30: Boże mój, przecz odrzucaś smętna duszę moję?
I twarz ode mnie odwracasz swoję?
Pagninus, v. 15: Vtquid Iehoua repellis animam meam, abscondis
faciem tuam a me?

¹⁰ While it is not certain that Kochanowski derived the phrase in parentheses from Campensis' translation, the fact that both translators refer to the certainty of God's promises, a reference which does not occur in the biblical text, suggests that this is the source of the poet's rendering.

¹¹ It should be noted that Kochanowski's rendering in these lines is more concise than the biblical text (cf. Calvin: "Quia dixi. Perpetuo clementia ædificabitur: cælos stabilies, veritas tua in illis. Pepigi fœdus cum electo meo, iuraui Dauidi seruo meo"; Vulgate: "Quoniam dixisti in æternum misericordia ædificabitur in cœlis, præparabitur veritas tua in eis. Disposui testamentum electis meis, iuraui Dauid seruo meo, [...]"). It is reasonably certain that both the phrase in parentheses in line 3 and Kochanowski's rendering in line derive from Campensis' translation, it is not certain whether this is also the source of Kochanowski's rendering in line 6 ("ne vllam habeat dubitandi causam seruus meus Dauid").

¹² This might also derive from Campensis' translation ("Melior est enim vna dies in atriis tuis, quam mille quocunque alio loco").

- 4 Psalm LXXXVIII, 35-36: Odstrychnęłeś ode mnie krewne, i znajome,
Wszystkich okryły ćmy niewidome.¹³
- Pagninus, v. 19: Elongasti a me amantem & socium, notos meos in tenebris.
- (d) Vulgate.
- 1 Psalm LXXIII, 29-30: Jeslibych tak rzekł w głupim sercu swoim,
Wzgardziłbych, Panie, wiernym ludem Twoim:
- Vulgate LXXII, v. 15: Si dicebam narrabo sic, ecce nationem filiorum tuorum reprobaui.
- Calvin LXXIII, v. 15: Si dixero, Narrabo sic, Ecce generatio filiorum tuorum: transgressus sum.
- 2 Psalm LXXV, 15-16: [...] ani mówcie hardzie
Jemu ku wzgardzie.¹⁴
- Vulgate LXXIV, v. 5: [...] nolite loqui aduersus deum iniquitatem.
- Calvin LXXV, v. 6: [...] ne loquamini collo duro.
- 3 Psalm LXXVI, 16: A ziemia się trzęsła, [...]
- Vulgate LXXV, v. 8: [...] terra tremuit, [...]
- Calvin LXXVI, v. 9: [...] terra timuit, [...]
- 4 Psalm LXXVIII, 21: Dobrodziejstwa, i cudów Jego zapomnieli,
- Vulgate LXXVII, v. 11: Et obliti sunt benefactorum eius, & mirabilium eius quæ ostendit eis.
- Calvin LXXVIII, v. 11: Et obliti sunt operum eius, & mirabilium quæ ostendit illis.
- 5 Psalm LXXVIII, 42: I spuścił im dostatek niebieskiego chleba.
- Vulgate LXXVII, v. 24: [...] & panem cœli dedit eis.
- Calvin LXXVIII, v. 24: [...] & frumentum cœlorum dederat illis.

¹³ This too might derive from Campensis' translation, although he introduces the reference to darkness as a similitude rather than a statement of fact ("Procul a me abire fecisti, si quis forte reliquus fuit amans mei: aut vicinus beneuolus: quin & familiariter notos abscondisti, & veluti in tenebris, ne videri possint a me, collocasti"). Thus it is more likely that Kochanowski derived his rendering from Pagninus' translation.

¹⁴ While the reference to pride in line 15 appears to derive from the admonition in the Hebrew text not to speak with a stiff neck, it is probable that Kochanowski's rendering in line 16 is based on the Vulgate text. Thus it seems likely that these two lines are a conflation of the two variants of the biblical text.

- 6 Psalm LXXVIII, 43: Chleb Anielski człowiek jadł: [...] ¹⁵
 Vulgate LXXVII, v. 25: Panem angelorum manducauit homo, [...]
 Calvin LXXVIII, v. 25: Panem fortium comederat homo, [...]
- 7 Psalm LXXVIII, 99-100: I wyrzucił im gwoli pohańce butliwe,
 A miedzy nie podzielił włości osobliwe.
 Vulgate LXXVII, v. 55: Et eiecit a facie eorum gentes, & sorte diuisit eis terram
 in funiculo distributionis.
 Calvin LXXVIII, v. 55: Et expulit a facie eorum Gentes, & proiecit eas in
 sortem hæreditatis [...]
- 8 Psalm LXXVIII, 103-104: [...] i także, jako ich ojcowie,
Nie wytrwali statecznie w podanej umowie.
 Vulgate LXXVII, v. 57: Et auertunt se & non seruauerunt pactum, quemadmodum
 patres eorum [...]
 Calvin LXXVIII, v. 57: Et auersi sunt & perfide egerunt, sicut patres sui: [...]
- 9 Psalm LXXX, 3-4: Okaż sie, który nad lotnym siedzisz Cherubinem,
 Przed Efraimem, przed Manassem, przed
 Beniaminem ¹⁶
 Vulgate LXXIX, v. 1: Qui sedes super Cherubim, manifestare coram Ephraim
 Benjamin & Manasse.
 Calvin LXXX, vv. 2-3: [...] sedens inter Cherubim appare:
 Coram Ephraim & Benjamin & Manasse [...]
- 10 Psalm LXXXIII, 33: Tam dopiero poznają, że, Pan, imię Tobie,
 Vulgate LXXXII, v. 17: Et cognoscant quia nomen tibi dominus, [...]
 Calvin LXXXIII, v. 19: Et sciant quod tu sis nomen tuum Iehoua, [...]

¹⁵ The reference to Angels could equally have derived from Estienne's note ("Fortium magnificorum. potentium. i. cælorum, vel nubium. Chaldæus paraphrastes vertit, cibum qui descendit de habitaculo angelorum. LXX verterunt, angelorum, & hæc tralatio doctis placet").

¹⁶ While lines 1-2 indicate that Kochanowski is following the Hebrew text, nonetheless, he must have derived the reference to God sitting on a Cherub in line 3 from the Vulgate text. Line 3 is something of a problem for, while other editions punctuate this line with a fullstop, there is no punctuation mark in the 1583 edition. The former reading would agree with the Vulgate text, the latter with the Hebrew. It is probable that Kochanowski intended the former, for he does not usually allow enjambement across a stanza division except in couplets (a notable exception being Psalm LXXXI, 40-41, where enjambement occurs across the division between two quatrains).

- 11 Psalm LXXXVIII, 13-14: Zmocniły sie nade mną Twe zapalczywości,
Przywiodłeś na mnie swe nawałności.
- Vulgate LXXXVII, 7: Super me confirmatus est furor tuus, & omnes fluctos tuos induxisti super me.
- Calvin LXXXVIII, 8: Super me incubuit indignatio tua, & omnibus fluctibus tuis afflixisti me.

II. Commentaries.

(a) Calvin.

- 1 Psalm LXXIII, 1-2: Niech co chce będzie: żyw Pan ludu swemu,
I zna, kto szczerym sercem służy Jemu.
- Calvin, v. 1: Nam vt strenuus athleta, se ipsum exercuerat in pugnis difficillissimis: postquam vero diu multumque sudauit, discussis impiis imaginationibus, constituit Deum tamen seruis suis esse propitium, & salutis fidum esse custodem.
- 2 Psalm LXXIII, 15: Niewinne drecza, [...]
- Calvin, v. 8: Quod si tamen magis arrideat diuersa interpretatio, mihi non displicet, impios scilicet oppressiones suas iactando, formidinem incutere simplicibus & quietis.
- 3 Psalm LXXIII, 31-32: A chcąc w tej mierze co pewnego stawić,
Niemógłem ludzkim rozumem sie sprawić:¹⁷
- Calvin, vv. 16-17: Porro de seipso loquens, admonet quousque perueniant homines vbi proprio sensu duce aguntur: nempe deficere sub molestia, quia nihil certum vel stabile reperiant. Nec enim dubium quin Sanctuaria opponat carnis rationi.
- 4 Psalm LXXIII, 61: I będę zawsze miał Cię za co słać,
- Calvin, v. 28: In fine significat, postquam vni Deo se consecrauerit, nunquam sibi defore eius laudandi materiam: [...]
- 5 Psalm LXXIV, 18: Wszystki w popiół obrócił Pańskie synagogi.
- Calvin, v. 8: Tandem dicit incensas fuisse omnes Synagogas.

¹⁷ While Campensis and Estienne also refer to reason (cf. Campensis: "Et si rationem horum inuenire conabar, ipsa rei difficultas desistere coegit me"; Estienne: "etiam si quis ratione praeditus, vt sunt homines, studeat cognoscere rationem operum Dei, quomodo regat hunc mundum, ita sinat res confusas & perplexas in terra"), the fact that Kochanowski refers both to reason and also to the inability of men to arrive at anything certain indicates that he derived his rendering from Calvin's commentary.

- 6 Psalm LXXIV, 45-46: Wstań Panie, a weźmi sie za swą krzywdę: pomni,
Jako Cię lżą każdy dzień bluźnierce nieskromni.
- Calvin, v. 22: Quomodo autem causa hæc sit Dei propria, simul
declarant, quia stultorum opprobriis quotidie subiaceant.
[...] Ideo concludunt, ne huius proteruiæ obliuiscatur
Deus: quia non modo obloqui audent eius maiestati, sed
ferociter & tumultuose blasphemias suas euomunt.
- 7 Psalm LXXV, 3-4: A Ty nam szczęścić będziesz nasze sprawy,
Boże łaskawy.¹⁸
- Calvin, v. 2: Nisi forte commemoret Propheta, Deum olim ob beneficia
quæ præstitit, laudatum fuisse in populo suo: vt hoc modo
eum ad perseuerantiam inducat, vt sui similis esse pergens,
subinde noua laudum argumenta suppeditet. Mutatio
personæ in secundo membro quosdam interpretes impulit
ad subaudiendum pronomen relatiuum *asher*. acsi dictum
esset, Domine celebrabimus te, & nomen tuum prope est
iis qui narrant mirabilia tua.
- 8 Psalm LXXVII, 11: Wspominałem swe wdzięczne pie[ś]ni, [...] ¹⁹
- Calvin, v. 7: Neque enim dubito quin per *carmen suum* designet
gratiarum actiones quibus se in rebus lætis, & prosperis
exercuerat.
- 9 Psalm LXXVII, 21: Co mówię? ręka Pańska niesie odmiany.²⁰
- Calvin, v. 11: Probabile hoc, vt se exoneret Propheta, statuens ad
tempus duntaxat se deiici: ideoque patienter ferendam
esse ægritudinem, quia lethalis non est. [...] Neque
enim repudio eorum sententiam qui *shenoth* vertunt
mutationes. nam quum *shanah* mutare vel iterare
significet, *shenoth* Hebræi vocant annos, a reuolutione
[....] Vtrouis tamen modo accipere libeat, stabit illa
quam dixi consolatio, quod scilicet Propheta aliam
vicissitudinem sibi promittens, morti se minime deuoueat.

¹⁸ Kochanowski's rendering differs significantly from the biblical text. The sum of what is said is that the faithful will praise God, and He in turn will bless them, an interpretation which seems to owe something to Calvin's commentary, where it is said that this act of praise will induce God to exhibit His goodness to the faithful in the future also. "Nomen" is taken by several commentators to refer to divine help, and it seems that Kochanowski attaches a similar significance to it.

¹⁹ While the reference to the Psalmist's former songs is common to the Hebrew text (cf. Calvin: "Recordabor carminis mei nocte"; Campensis: "In memoriam reuocabo, & carmen meum"; Vulgate: "Et meditatus sum nocte cum corde meo"), the adjective "wdzięczne" indicates the influence of Calvin's commentary, for no other text refers to thanksgiving.

²⁰ While it seems likely that Kochanowski derived his rendering in the second part of this line from Calvin's commentary, the first part of the line differs from other translations in rendering "Dixi" as a question. Having given way to despair in the preceding two stanzas, the Psalmist now checks himself and comforts himself with the knowledge that God would bring about a change in his condition. Thus this question, while it differs in its manner of expression from other renderings, agrees very well with Calvin's interpretation of this passage.

- 10 Psalm LXXVIII, 52: Gdy sie Pańskie przeklęctwo na nich okazało.²¹
 Calvin, v. 33: [...] acsi diceret Dei maledictione præcisum illis fuisse vitæ tempus, [...]
- 11 Psalm LXXVIII, 90: I ciężkie niewidomych szatanów trapienie.²²
 Calvin, v. 49: Angelos tamen, quoties visum est, ministros adhibet ad exequenda sua imperia, non consuetis vel naturalibus mediis, sed arcana & nobis incomprehensibili virtute. Quod diabolos quidam hic notari putant, quia dicuntur angeli noxii, non refello: [...]
- 12 Psalm LXXIX, 49-52: Sąsiadom płąć siedmiorako,
Którzy nie tak nam snadź, jako
Tobie, Panie, urągali,
 Sznupek sprosne zadawali.²³
 Calvin, v. 12: *Et repende.* Satis iam de vindicta dictum est: & hic clarius demonstrant fideles, non tam se moueri priuatis iniuriis, quam pio zelo excandescere vbi proscindi vident sacrum Dei nomen [...]
- 13 Psalm LXXXI, 45-46: A żadnejby wiecznie już odmiany
 Nieznał był mój lud wybrany:
 Calvin, v. 16: Mutatio igitur tam subita quæ contigerat, odiose illis obiicitur, quod data opera suam felicitatem protinus abiecerint. [...] Qui fit enim vt esuriant in ea terra vbi Deus tritici & mellis abundantiam illis pollicitus fuerat, nisi quia Dei benedictio eorum culpa exaruit.
- 14 Psalm LXXXVI, 3-4: Jestem człowiekiem utrapionym,
Od wszego świata opuszczonym.²⁴
 Calvin, v. 1: Porro non abs re miseras suas Deo allegat quæ fauorem impetrent: quando naturæ nihil magis proprium est quam succurre miseris: & quo quisque durius premitur, & destuitur humanis auxiliis benignius eum iuuare.

²¹ This line is, in fact, a translation of verse 31 and Calvin, in common with other translators, refers to God's wrath ("Quum ira Dei ascendit in eos"). However, the fact that he refers in his commentary to verse 33 to God's curse — by which he means the episode described in verses 28-31 — leads me to believe that Kochanowski derived his reference from this source.

²² While it is not certain that Kochanowski derived the adjective "niewidomych" from Calvin's commentary, although "arcana & nobis incomprehensibili" does signify that which is concealed from us and which we are unable to grasp or perceive with the senses, there is little doubt that this is the origin of his reference to devils rather than to angels.

²³ While Kochanowski's rendering differs from Calvin's commentary in its manner of expression, nonetheless, the fact that the poet draws a distinction between the injury done to the godly and that done to God strongly suggests that he has made use of Calvin's commentary here.

²⁴ While Campensis also refers to the Psalmist being isolated from other people ("quia pauper & omni humano præsidio destitutus sum ego"), the fact that Kochanowski also makes mention of the fact that he was oppressed while Campensis does not, suggests that he based his rendering on Calvin's commentary.

- 15 Psalm LXXXVIII, 9-10: Leżę jako zabity pod ziemię włożony,
Od Ciebie, i od świata wzgardzony.
- Calvin, v. 6: Primo se liberum esse dicit inter mortuos, quod inutilis
esset ad omnia vitæ munera, & quasi a mundo alienatus.
- 16 Psalm LXXXIX, 45-46: Rękę jego położę na morzu szarym,
Drugą na Euphratowym strumieniu głębokim.
- Calvin, v. 26: [...] per *fluuios* tam solum Euphratem intelligere licet,
qui in multos alueos scinditur, quam vicina etiam
flumina a parte Syriæ.
- (b) Estienne.
- 1 Psalm LXXIII, 16: Przeciwko Bogu sprosnie występują.²⁵
- Estienne, note to v. 8: De excelso de Celsitudine. q.d. negant Excelsum esse
super se. Quidam, contra Excelsum loquuntur.
- 2 Psalm LXXIII, 17: Swa wszetecznością i nieba siegają,²⁶
- Estienne, note to v. 9: Et lingua eorum perambulat in terra. Hebraismus, pro,
etiam de hominibus male loquuntur, vt de Deo:
subiiciunt suæ libidini quicquid est in cælo & in terra.
- 3 Psalm LXXIV, 22: [...] długoż mają Ciebie bluźnić, Panie?²⁷
- Estienne, note to v. 10: Spernet inimicus nomen tuum. blasphemabit inimicus
nomen tuum.
- 4 Psalm LXXV, 9-12: [...] ziemia, wspótek i z temi
Będzie topniała, którzy są na ziemi:
Ale zaś przez mie jej słupy zwątlone
Beda zmcnione.²⁸
- Estienne, note to v. 4: Dissoluta est terra. Ad verbum, Dissoluti sunt vel
Liquescunt terra. [...] Dicit Propheta Deum restitutum
in melius quæ collapsa sunt & quasi liquefacta, acsi
dicat Deus, Quauis terra dissoluta sit & dissiliat, ego
tamen stabiliam eius columnas: [...]

²⁵ The fact that both Estienne and Kochanowski identify God as the target of this impiousness suggests that Kochanowski might have derived this detail from Estienne's note. However, this is not certain, especially since we find something similar in Campensis' translation ("Eum qui cælos habitat ore blasphemio irritare audent").

²⁶ Here too, it is not certain that Kochanowski made use of Estienne's note, although there is a certain similarity between the two. It is also possible to see a certain similarity to Buchanan's translation (lines 37-40: "Nec impudentis garrula vanitas / Contenta linguæ fundere toxica / Terras per omnes, astra laccessere / Audet, Deumque insana superbia").

²⁷ This might also derive from Campensis' translation ("& inimicum blasphemum in maiestatem nominis tui, perpetuo ne?").

²⁸ Although we find a reference to God strengthening the pillars of the earth in Campensis' translation ("& veluti columnis stabiliui"), the fact that Kochanowski refers both to this and to the earth melting rather than merely being afraid indicates that he based his rendering on Estienne's note.

- 5 Psalm LXXV, 21: Bóg panem świata, i sam wszystkim włada,
Estienne, note to v. 8: Iudex est. Iudicium hoc loco, nihil aliud est quam gubernatio. Iudex igitur est Deus, hoc est, ita præest mundo gubernando, vt nihil geratur in eo nisi arbitrio ispius, [...]
- 6 Psalm LXXVI, 9-10: Zasnęli w sen twardy nieockniony,
Rąk nie mogli podnieść do obrony.
Estienne, note to v. 6: Vel, manus promptas & expeditas non habuerunt vt se tuerentur.
- 7 Psalm LXXVIII, 17: Synowie Efraimowi, mężę doświadчени,
I lukiem nieomyłnym władać nauczeni,
W potrzebie tył podali: czemu? [...] ²⁹
Estienne, note to v. 9: Armati, iacentes arcu, q. d. Vnde factum est vt filii Ephraim bellicosi homines, periti sagittandi, & in rebus bellicis valde exercitati, non fugaces, sed animosi, adeo tamen timide fugerunt, nisi quod non custodierunt foedus Domini, & reuerunt ambulare in Lege eius?
- 8 Psalm LXXVIII, 58: I przed czasem nędznego dokonali świata. ³⁰
Estienne, note to v. 33: Et vanitatem ac festinationem in eodem sensu accipiunt: acsi dicat, Dominus vitam ipsorum præcidit vt statim migrauerint ex mundo.
- 9 Psalm LXXVIII, 93-94: Płód wewsztykim Ægyptcie pierworodny zbiła,
I kwiat rzeźwiej młodości nagle posuszyła. ³¹
Estienne, note to v. 51: Primitias fortitudinum. Ita vocat primogenita quæ suscipiuntur in florente ætate.

²⁹ Although it is possible that Kochanowski modelled his version on Buchanan's paraphrase, which also renders this verse as a question (lines 20-22: "Cur soboles Efræmi docta sagittis / Figere vel iaculo quanuis distantia certo, / Terga dedit pene ante tubas?"), the fact that he refers to the sons of Ephraim as being experienced, when taken together with the question-form, clearly reveals the influence of Estienne's note.

³⁰ While this reference to their life being cut short might derive from Calvin's commentary ("acsi diceret Dei maledictione præcisum illis fuisse vitæ tempus"), Kochanowski's manner of expression is closer to Estienne's note, for both say that the ungodly left the world before their time — although Estienne suggests a greater sense of immediacy than does Kochanowski..

³¹ We find a similar comparison of the children of the Egyptians to a flower in Buchanan's translation (lines 104-106: "Primitias sobolis, charissima pignora, florem / Roboris, & seræ spem præsidiumque senectæ / Prostrauit, [...]"). However, the fact that Kochanowski specifically mentions their youth suggests that he has followed Estienne's note rather than the Scot's rendering.

- 10 Psalm LXXVIII, 119-120: Ocucił sie Pan, jako gdy kto snem zmorzony
Wyspał wino wczorajsze, i wstał wytrzeźwiony.³²
 Estienne, note to v. 65: A vino: pos vinum. i. vbi obdormuit crapulam. q. d.
 Deus non statim vltus est scelera populi sui, sed
 postquam diu quasi sopitus iacuerat.
- 11 Psalm LXXIX, 17-18: Rychłóž, wiekuisty Panie,
 Twój przeciw nam gniew ustanie?³³
 Estienne, note to v. 5: Dicit igitur, Quoniam tu nimis diu iratus fuisti,
quousque durabit ira tua?
- 12 Psalm LXXX, 22: A wysokich gałęziami Cedrów dostąpiła.
 Estienne, note to v. 11: Cedri Dei. Cedros Dei vocat altissimas, & excelsas
 cedros.
- 13 Psalm LXXXIV, 5-6: Wroble mają swe domy, jaskółki swe mają
 Gniazda, gdzie dziatki wychowują.³⁴
 Estienne, note to v. 4: Passer inuenit Sing. pro plur. & præt. pro præs.
passeres inueniunt domum, hirundines nidum vbi
 reponant pullos suos [...]
- 14 Psalm LXXXV, 17-18: Słucham ja, czym mię mój Pan odprawuje:
 Pokój nas ludem swoim obiece.
 Estienne, note to v. 9: Loquetur pacem id est efficiet vt tandem bene habeat
 Ecclesia eius. Nam Hebræi, pacis nomine omne genus
 boni significant, & foelicem rerum successum. Alludit
 ad promissiones.

³² We find a similar comparison of God to a man sleeping off the alcoholic excesses of the night before in Campensis' translation ("Et expegefactus est tandem dominus quomodo solet: qui vino obrutus post longum somnum redit ad se, & iterum vino exhilarans sese fortiter pericula aggreditur"), although the fact that I can find no precedent for the final clause of Campensis' rendering makes it more likely that Kochanowski based his rendering on Estienne's note.

³³ While Kochanowski's rendering does not differ significantly from the biblical text, it is possible that his decision to render "irasceris" as "Twój gniew" owes something to Estienne's note. Whatever the source of Kochanowski's rendering, it is apparent that he has provided a free translation.

³⁴ While the birds named by Kochanowski and Estienne also appear in Campensis' translation, although they are referred to in the singular rather than the plural, his rendering of the remainder of the verse is sufficiently different for it to be unlikely that Kochanowski derived his rendering from here ("Interim passer inuenit foramen: & hirundo nidum, vbi collocet pullos suos iuxta altaria tua domine exercituum, qui mihi & rex es & deus").

- 15 Psalm LXXXV, 29-30: Pan ziemi raczy błogosławić: a ta
Przyniesie żyzne, i obfite lata:
- Estienne, note to v. 13: Bonum, Significat externam terræ fœcunditatem.
Notatur enim quædam accessio ad bona illa spiritualia
de quibus paulo ante q. d. Dominus non tantum efficiet
vt vigeat bonitas, misericordia, iustitia, pax & veritas
inter nos: sed etiam terræ bonitatem dabit, neque sinet
nos destitui commodis temporalibus. A Domino igitur
est vbertas terræ, vt fructum suum proferat, postquam
e cælo illam benedixit.
- 16 Psalm LXXXVI, 55-56: Pomoż mi, Panie, służyć swemu,
Niewolnikowi pomoż Twemu.
- Estienne, note to v. 16: Filium ancillæ tuæ. Vocat se seruum, & filium ancillæ,
vt multis aliis locis: acsi diceret, se ab vtero matris esse
seruum domesticum & vernā. [...] Magnum igitur
est priuilegium, natum esse in grege Domini, & esse
domesticum ipsius ab vtero matris.
- 17 Psalm LXXXVI, 57: Włóż na mnie jawny znak swej chęci.³⁵
- Estienne, note to v. 17: Fac mecum signum in bonum, i. Declara signo aliquo
te mihi velle fauere & te esse mihi propitium.

III. Verse Translations.

(a) Buchanan.

- 1 Psalm LXXIII, 7-9: Oni przeciwniej fortuny nie znają.
I w dobrej sile długie lata trwają.³⁶
W ludzkich frasunkach nie są położeni,
- Buchanan, 17-22: Sors illa cunctis inuida, mobilis,
Infida seruat perpetua fide
Istis tenorem, & robore viuido
Firmos senectam ducit ad vltimam.
Exempta duris vita molestiis
Curisque, [...]

³⁵ This might equally derive from Campensis' translation ("Ede signum aliquod fauoris erga me tui").

³⁶ While we also find a reference to the prosperous condition of ungodly men and their lasting strength in Estienne's notes, nonetheless the use of "fortuny" in line 7, and the reference to long life in line 8, strongly suggest the influence of Buchanan's translation.

- 2 Psalm LXXIII, 25-26: Próznom ja tedy warował sie złości,
 Próznom zachował ręce w niewinności.³⁷
- Buchanan, 49-50: Frustra ergo puro pectore viuitur:
 Frustra innocentem contineo manum:
- 3 Psalm LXXIII, 35-42: Inaczej tego powiedzieć niemogę,
 Na śliskim gruncie położyli nogę.
Nieprawne skarby posiadli na ziemi:
 Bo skoro zagrzmi Twa pomsta nad nimi,
I pan, i państwo zginą w ocmgnięciu,
 Prosto jako sen na pierwszym ocknięciu.
 A ich władania, ich wysady, Panie,
Śmiech tylko ludzki w mieście Twym zostanie.
- Buchanan, 65-76: Vidi repente quam pede lubrico
 Starent superbi: quam stabiles parum
Opes tenerent, quam fragili loco
 Fultos ruina praecepti trahas.
Procella vindex vt sonuit tuæ
 Iræ, fugaces cum domino suo
Euanuerunt diuitiæ: manet
 Vmbra inuidendæ nulla potentia.
 Sic nocte mentes ludificans fugit
 Imago somni: & quæ modo pectora
 Sopita vano terruerat metu,
Risus per vrberum mox ciet omnibus.
- 4 Psalm LXXIII, 43-44: Ale niżli to serce me pojęło,
 Siła troskania, siła myśli wzięło.³⁸
- Buchanan, 77-78: Donec viderem hæc, mœror & anxiæ
 Mentem obruebant sollicitudines.
- 5 Psalm LXXIII, 53-54: Kto jest na ziemi, kto na wielkim niebie,
Kogobych ja miał chwalić, okrom Ciebie?
- Buchanan, 85-86: Quid terra præter te, mihi? quid polus
 Offert colendum? [...]
- 6 Psalm LXXIV, 2: I srogim wilkom drapać stado swe dopuścisz?
- Buchanan, 3-4: Lupis vorandum cur gregem pastor tuum
 Ira obstinata deseris?

³⁷ While Kochanowski's rendering in line 25 differs somewhat from Buchanan's, nonetheless, the fact that both poets refer to avoiding wickedness altogether rather than purifying oneself following a sinful act, as in the biblical text, leads me to believe that Kochanowski probably did derive his rendering from here.

³⁸ While the details enumerated in these lines do not agree precisely with Buchanan's translation, nonetheless, Kochanowski's manner of expression is very similar. His rendering differs sufficiently from the biblical text for it to be reasonably certain that Kochanowski has modelled his translation on Buchanan's.

- 7 Psalm LXXIV, 13-14: Ściany padną, ziemia grzmi: jako kiedy wala
W lesie surowe dęby twardą ostrą sztalą.³⁹
- Buchanan, 20-22: *Ædis ruenti sit fragor,
Quales sub altis murmurant quercus iugis,
Cæsæ bipenni quum ruunt.*
- 8 Psalm LXXIV, 23-24: Czemu tak długo kurczysz mozną rękę swoją?
Podnieś wzdram kiedy wzgórę, podnieś prawa
Twoje.⁴⁰
- Buchanan, 39-40: *Cur otiosus retrahis manum? exere
Tandem potentem dexteram.*
- 9 Psalm LXXIV, 29-32: Skruszyłeś i samemu łeb wielorybowi,
I dałeś go na pastwę górnemu śepowi.
Na Twoje rozkazanie źródł wyskoczył z skały,
A rzeki nieprzebyte wody ostradały.
- Buchanan, 51-56: *[...] fluctibus cadauera
Eiecta vultur Æthiops
Vorauit: inter æstu arenas torridas,
De cote dura limpidi
Fluxere riui: te imperante substitit
Arente flumen alueo.*
- 10 Psalm LXXIV, 35: Tyś morze z ziemią spoił, i mocnie ustawił,⁴¹
- Buchanan, 59-60: *Æquorque claudis littorum repagulis,
Terrasque cingis fluctibus.*
- 11 Psalm LXXIV, 47: Niezamilczaj przegrózek, i wszetecznej mowy:
- Buchanan, 81-82: *Voces superbas & tumultus improbos
Silentio ne supprime:*

³⁹ Although Kochanowski has changed the image somewhat, it is apparent that this comparison of the demolition of the temple to the noise made when oak trees are felled derives from Buchanan's translation (cf. Calvin: "Cognitus est quasi elatus in sublime, in perplexitate ligni secures"; Campensis: "Palam videntibus cunctis ascenderunt vastaturi templum tuum, non aliter quam syluam lignorum ingressi arbores truncare solent"; Vulgate: "Quasi in sylua lignorum securibus exciderunt ianuas eius in idipsum, in securi & ascia deiecerunt eam").

⁴⁰ While the two translations differ somewhat, nonetheless, the exhortation for God to raise His right hand to smite the enemy clearly does not derive directly from the biblical text (cf. Calvin: "Quousque conuerter manum tuam, & dexteram tuam? in medio sinus tuis consume"; Vulgate: "Vt quid auertis manum tuam & dexteram tuam, de medio sinu tuo in finem?"). Although it might derive from Campensis' translation, Campensis does not state which of the two hands referred to in the preceding clause God is to raise and to use to smite the ungodly ("Quare contrahis vtranque manum, sinistram & dexteram tuam instar hominis ociosi? profer quæso eam e sinu tuo, & perde hos impios in te homines funditus"). Thus it seems likely that Kochanowski derived this imprecation from Buchanan's translation.

⁴¹ While the biblical text refers to God setting a limit to the earth, the reference to Him joining the sea to the land appears to be closer to Buchanan's translation.

- 12 Psalm LXXV, 5-8: Kiedy się skończą zamierzone lata,
(Pan opowiada) przyjdę sędzić świata:
Tam płacić będę dobrze cnotliwemu,
Źle nieprawemu.⁴²
- Buchanan, 5-8: Quum plenis venient tempora sæculis,
Cogam, inquit Dominus, consilium meum.
Iustis suppliciis prosequar impios,
Iustis muneribus pios.
- 13 Psalm LXXV, 19-20: Ani z południa przyjdzie, ani ona
Od Aquilona.⁴³
- Buchanan, 21-22: Eois coeat viribus occidens,
Coniurent calidæ cum borea plagæ,
- 14 Psalm LXXV, 23-24: A niewolnika posadzi w koronie
Na złotym thronie.
- Buchanan, 27-28: [...] plebis ab infimæ
Hunc fæce ad solium erigit.
- 15 Psalm LXXV, 28: W gardziel łakomy.
- Buchanan, 35: [...] cupido gutture [...]
- 16 Psalm LXXV, 31-32: [...] tam prazna kłopotu
Ożywie cnota.
- Buchanan, 42-43: [...] cladibus obruta
Emerget pietas, [...]
- 17 Psalm LXXVI, 6: A za morze krwawe cisnął boje.
- Buchanan, 10: Funesta bella sustulit.

⁴² While "zamierzone lata" is closer to the Hebrew text ("tempus statutum"), the interpretation of "accepero tempus statutum" as referring to the end of a fixed period suggests that Kochanowski has made use of Buchanan's translation. As for "Pan opowiada" in line 6, this does not necessarily derive from Buchanan's rendering, for Campensis too indicates a change of speaker ("inquit dominus"). However, the two details taken together indicate that Buchanan's translation is the likely source of Kochanowski's rendering.

As for Kochanowski's rendering in lines 7-8, there is no corresponding passage in the biblical text, which says only that God will judge justly (cf. Calvin: "ego recta iudicabo"; Pagninus: "ego recte iudicabo"; Vulgate: "ego iustitias iudicabo").

⁴³ The reference to the South derives either from Buchanan's translation ("calidæ") or from Campensis' rendering ("neque ab Austro cuiquam continget"), while the reference to the North wind also occurs in Pagninus' translation ("neque ab Aquilone venit exaltatio"). However, the fact that Kochanowski refers to all four points of the compass suggests that he based his rendering on Buchanan's translation.

- 18 Psalm LXXVII, 1-4: Pana ja wzywać będę, dokądem żywy:
A On w uszy swe przyjmie mój głos płaczliwy.
Do Tego sie ja uciekę czasu trudności,
Do Tego ręce ściągać w nocne ciemności.⁴⁴
- Buchanan, 1-8: Te voce semper, te prece supplice
Rerum inuocabo conditor optime.
Nam lenis ac placatus aurem
Das facilem miseris querelis.
Ad te refugi quum premerer malis:
Ad te tetendi sollicitus manus
Sub nocte sola, donec atras
Lux tenebras rediens fugaret.
- 19 Psalm LXXVII, 27-28: Będę rozważał Twoje postęпки święte,
Będę powiadał sady Twe niepojęte.⁴⁵
- Buchanan, 53-55: Æterne rerum conditor! omnia
Consulta cuius factaque sanctitas
Illustrat: [...]
- 20 Psalm LXXVII, 30: Tobie świat nic równego podać nie może:
- Buchanan, 55-56: [...] haud quicquam tibi ingens
Orbis habet simile aut secundum.
- 21 Psalm LXXVII, 36: Linęły grad gwałtowny z wichrem zmieszany.⁴⁶
- Buchanan, 67-68: [...] grandinisque
Infremuit lapidosus imber.
- 22 Psalm LXXVIII, 4: Lecz, jako dziwne, tak też i prawdziwe wieści.
- Buchanan, 3: Mira canam, sed vera canam [...]

⁴⁴ Kochanowski's choice of verb in line 1 and his reference to the Psalmist having recourse to God suggest the influence of Buchanan's translation. It is, however, possible that this reference derived from Campensis' translation ("Quotiescunque aduersi aliquid accidebat mihi, ad dominum recurrebam").

⁴⁵ Although, strictly speaking, "Consulta" refers to decrees or decisions rather than legal determinations, it is possible that Kochanowski derived the references in these lines from Buchanan's translation.

⁴⁶ This reference to hail might also derive from Campensis' translation ("quin & grando copiose te iubente decedit, sagittis similis"), although the fact that Kochanowski keeps the references to hail and arrows separate suggests that he probably based his translation on Buchanan's version.

- 23 Psalm LXXVIII, 9-11: Aby ojcowie synom wiecznie winni byli
Dzieje Pańskie przekładać: a ci sie uczyli
Pana w potrzebach szukać, [...] ⁴⁷
- Buchanan, 10-15: [...] patres prodere natis
 Per seriem, & seris venientia sæcula sæclis,
 Et legum monitus & facta ingentia iussit.
 Scilicet vt memori beenfacta priora tenentes
 Pectore, consilium vitæ auxiliumque regendæ
A Domino expectent, trepido turbante tumultu.
- 24 Psalm LXXVIII, 13-14: Aby nie byli ojcom podobni, spórnemu
 Narodowi, i łaski Pańskiej niewdzięcznemu.
- Buchanan, 18: Neu similies patrum, male grata mente rebelles,
- 25 Psalm LXXVIII, 31-32: Kuszac Go w sercach swoich, a niehamownemu
 Pożądajac pokarmu brzuchowi swojemu.
- Buchanan, 36-37: Tentauere Deum: & ventris stimulante voracis
 Ingluue, petiere cibos: [...]
- 26 Psalm LXXVIII, 44-46: [...] wiatr z południa zatym
 Ćmę wielką ptastwa przygnał: jakie więc zamieci
W piaszczystych polach pędzi, gdy pirchliwy leci. ⁴⁸
- Buchanan, 52-54: Mox trepidis volucrum pluuias Notus attulit alis,
 Non secus ac siccæ cumulos quum verrit arenæ,
 Puluereamque trahit deserta per arida pallam[.]
- 27 Psalm LXXVIII, 65-67: Więc sobie twarzy smutne, i mowę zmyślali
Nabożna, ale serca nic nie przykładali:
 Ani Panu w przymierzu zachowali wiary:
- Buchanan, 72-74: Verba tamen blandis fundebant subdola linguis
Ore pii, mendace animo: neque foederis icti
Seruauere fidem. [...]
- 28 Psalm LXXVIII, 75-76: Szemrzac przeciwko Jemu, i z swej nikczemności
Miarkujac Jego siłę, i Jego możności.
- Buchanan, 79-83: O quoties inter viduas cultoris arenas,
 Inter saxa siti squalentia, numinis iram
 Languentem insanis irritauere querelis:
Et sua diuinas dimensi ad robora vires,
Virtutem [...]

⁴⁷ While it is not certain that line 11 is a free translation of Buchanan's rendering, there is little doubt that "Dzieje" does derive from the Scot's version.

⁴⁸ Kochanowski's comparison of the flocks of birds to a desert sand-storm, rather than to the sand of the sea as in the biblical text, clearly indicates the influence of Buchanan's translation.

- 29 Psalm LXXVIII, 77-78: Nie pomnieli, jako Pan dziwnie je wybawił,
I połamawszy pęta na swobodzie stawił.⁴⁹
- Buchanan, 85-86: Scilicet obliti benefacta priora, salutem
Acceptam, & duri nuper iuga dempta tyranni,
- 30 Psalm LXXVIII, 91-92: A śmierć nie próżnowała, jednako morzęcy
Okrutna wieki ludzkie, i rodzaj bydlęcy.
- Buchanan, 102-103: [...] Mors sæua per omne
Passim hominum pecudumque caput nulli æqua cucurrit:
- 31 Psalm LXXVIII, 105-106: Obrócili sie nazad, jako łuk zdradliwy,
Za nagłym wyciągnionej spadaniem cięciwy.
- Buchanan, 119-121: Non secus ac arcus curuat se in cornua neruo
Adducto, dextraque iterum neruoque remisso
In faciem subito flectit se sponte priorem:
- 32 Psalm LXXVIII, 107-108: Bogów sobie z kamienia nowych nakowali,
I nikczemnym szaleni słupom sie kłaniali.⁵⁰
- Buchanan, 123-124: [...] cunctisque in collibus aras
Erexit, finxitque sibi simulacra deorum.
- 33 Psalm LXXVIII, 111-112: Namiotem, i ołtarzmi wzgardził Silońskiem, i
Gdzie był mieszkanie sobie ulubił na ziemi.
- Buchanan, 127-129: [...] & aras
Ipse suas, ac Silonis tentoria liquit,
Sola sibi e cunctis electa habitacula terris.

⁴⁹ While Kochanowski's manner of expression differs from Buchanan's, both poets allude to the same things, namely God's deliverance of the Israelites, and His casting off their bonds. There is no reference to chains or yokes in the biblical text.

⁵⁰ These lines differ significantly from the biblical text. Indeed the only detail which Kochanowski's version has in common with the biblical text is the reference to graven images (cf. Calvin: "Et ad iracundiam prouocauerunt eum in excelsis suis: & in sculptilibus suis ad iram eum concitauerunt"; Vulgate: "In iram concitauerunt eum in collibus suis, & in sculptilibus suis ad æmulationem eum prouocauerunt"). However, while we find a similar reference to the Israelites making new gods for themselves in Buchanan's translation, it is not certain whether Kochanowski also derived his reference to them worshipping these graven images from the Scot's version.

- 34 Psalm LXXVIII, 123-128: Ale władze, i rządu, ani Josephowym,
 Ani zacnym potomkom zlecił Efraimowym.
 Judzie zlecił, Siońskie umiłowal skały,
 Na których kościół sobie zbudował tak trwały,
 Jako ziemia, lub niebo: które tak stworzone,
 Że starością na wieki nie będzie zwałtłone.⁵¹

Buchanan, 143-147: Non tamen Efræmum præstantem fortibus armis
 Elegit, cui sceptra daret: non ille Manassæ
 Pignora: sed Iudam, sed celsæ tecta Sionis,
 Templâ sibi & solido fundata sacraria saxo,
 Cumque polo & stellis mansauram in sæcula sedem.

- 35 Psalm LXXVIII, 129-130: Więc Dawida, co teraz za owcami chodził,
Obrał królem, aby lud Israhelski wodził.

Buchanan, 148-151: Quique sequebatur pecudes in pascua Daud
 Sustulit e caulis, charam & sibi pascere gentem,
Impositum solio, & sanctæ ius dicere terræ
 Iussit: [...]

- 36 Psalm LXXVIII, 131-132: A ten je z pilnością past, i mądrze sprawował,
 Jako urząd pasterski jego potrzebował.

Buchanan, 151-152: [...] & ille gregem studio curaque fideli
 Rexit, [...]

- 37 Psalm LXXIX, 1-4: Pohańcy, O Boże żywy,
Wojują Twój kraj właściwy:
 Kościół Twój zesromocili,
 Miasto z gruntu wyrócili.

Buchanan, 1-6: Hæreditatem rector orbis cur tuam
Inuadit hostis impius?
 Ritu profano polluit sacraria
 Tuo dicata nomini,
Soloque stratam funditus Solymam suæ
 Tegit ruinæ molibus.

- 38 Psalm LXXIX, 9-12: Krew po drogach żywa płynie,
 Jako gdy deszcz wielki linie:
 A nie masz, ktoby z litości
 Piaskiem nakrył biedne kości.⁵²

Buchanan, 11-14: Riui cruoris perluunt vias, velut
 Torrens adauctus imbribus.
 Nec vsquam amicus ossa sparsa qui legat,
 Aut lecta tumulis obruat.

⁵¹ While Kochanowski's rendering does not differ greatly from the biblical text in these lines, there is no equivalent in the biblical text for the references to "władze" or to "niebo". The presence of these details indicates that Kochanowski derived his rendering in these lines from Buchanan's translation.

⁵² While Kochanowski may be paraphrasing the biblical text in these lines, the comparison between the blood of the dead and rain rather than water in line 10, and the reference to their bones rather than to the dead themselves in line 12 seem to indicate the influence of Buchanan's translation.

- 39 Psalm LXXIX, 19-20: Gniew pożarowy srogiemu
Równy nieugaszonemu.⁵³
- Buchanan, 17-18: Parens benigne, quem modum tandem tuæ
Speremus iracundiæ?
- 40 Psalm LXXIX, 53-54: A my Twojej lud opieki,
Będziem Cię sławić na wieki,
- Buchanan, 49-52: Et nos, ouilis grex tui, quem pabulo
Alis, tueris numine:
Et posterorum posteri laudes tuas
Cunctis canemus sæculis.
- 41 Psalm LXXX, 13-14: Sąsiedzi o łupy nasze zwady zaczynają,
A nieprzyjacielskie śmiechy żału nam dodają.
- Buchanan, 14-16: [...] iurgia
Nostris finitimi de spoliis serunt,
Et nostra exagitant ludibrio mala.
- 42 Psalm LXXX, 29-30: Porusz sie, o możny Panie, z swej świętej stolicy.
A racz najjrzyć do tej biednej stażonej winnice.⁵⁴
- Buchanan, 33-35: O Rex omnipotens, obsecro iam redi
Tandem, & sydereo prospice de throno:
Placatusque tuam respice vineam, [...]
- 43 Psalm LXXX, 34: A z gruntu prawie niszczą, gniew Twój na sie
czując.⁵⁵
- Buchanan, 43-44: [...] omnia pessum eunt.
Iræ iusta tuæ nos premit vltio.

⁵³ The reference to anger in line 19 might equally derive from Campensis' translation ("exardescet ne sicut ignis ira tua?"). It is clear, however, that Kochanowski did not base his rendering on the biblical text (cf. Calvin: "ardebit velut ignis zelus tuus?"; Vulgate: "accendetur velut ignis zelus tuus?").

⁵⁴ While it is reasonably certain that Kochanowski derived the reference to God's celestial throne from Buchanan, the origin of his rendering in line 30 is less certain. The fact that Kochanowski has changed the imprecation for God to visit the vine into a request for Him to look at it, and refers to a vine rather than a vineyard suggests that he has based his rendering on Buchanan's translation, although it might equally be a contraction of Calvin's translation of the Hebrew text (cf. Calvin: "Deus exercitum reuertere obsecro, inspice e cælis, & vide, & visita vitem hanc"; Vulgate: "respice de cælo & vide, & visita vineam istam").

⁵⁵ While the reference to anger in the second part of this line may derive from Buchanan's translation, the first clause is closer to Campensis' translation ("quæ si durauerit, funditus peribunt, qui hac vinea significantur omnes").

- 44 Psalm LXXXI, 11-12: Na pamiatkę wieczną wyzwolenia
Z Aegyptckiego udrczenia.⁵⁶
- Buchanan, 11-12: Hæc est illa dies ventura in sæcula testis
Memphiticæ tyrannidis.
- 45 Psalm LXXXI, 29-32: Lecz mnie tylko Bogiem wyznasz swoim,
Któryć w uciśnieniu twoim
Do wolności pomógł: wyrzecz słowo.
A wszystko masz mieć gotowo.⁵⁷
- Buchanan, 30-34: Sed vnicum tibi me Deum
Esse velis, domini qua rupta compede Nili,
Iuris tui te reddidi:
Posce modo: spe plura feres, potiora petitis,
Maiora votis auferes.
- 46 Psalm LXXXI, 39-41: W rychle bych był ich wszystkie okrócić
Przeciwniki, i obrócić
Rękę swoją na sprosne pogany:
- Buchanan, 41-43: Namque humiles illis subito fractosque dedissem
Hostes, meamque dexteram
Vertissem in gentes, quæ recta odere, profanas:
- 47 Psalm LXXXII, 1-3: Królowie sadzą poddane,
A króle koronowane
Sędzia wiekiusty sadzi,⁵⁸
- Buchanan, 1-2: Regum timendorum, in proprios greges,
Reges in ipsos imperium est Iouæ,
- 48 Psalm LXXXII, 5-6: Długoż (powiada) złośliwy
Wasz będzie znał sąd życzliwy?⁵⁹
- Buchanan, 5-6: Num fraudulentos semper & impios
(Inquit) dolosa lance fouebitis?

⁵⁶ The reference to the memory of the divine favour might also have derived from Campensis' translation ("in memoriam eius, quod feliciter versatus fuerit ipse in terra ægypti, quo quum venissemus, linguam quam non didiceramus, audiebamus") or from the expositions by Calvin ("acsi diceret, redemptum fuisse hac lege populum, vt statis diebus ad renouandam gratiæ memoriam conflueret") or by Estienne ("Alii referunt hoc ad Deum, Quum egressus esset super terram Ægypti, tunc mandauit populo suo vt celebris esset redemptionis memoria"). However, these texts do not refer to the Israelites' deliverance from oppression in Egypt. Thus I am inclined to think that Kochanowski based his rendering on Buchanan's translation.

⁵⁷ While the imperative "wyrzecz słowo" might also derive from Estienne's note ("Dilata os tuum, Hebraismus, pro ampliter & large pete, & impetrabis"), taken together with Kochanowski's rendering in line 29, it seems certain that he made use of Buchanan's translation in these lines.

⁵⁸ While the reference to God judging earthly rulers may derive from Estienne's note ("semper tenebit supremum tribunal, cui & Reges ipsi & Magistratus subsunt propterea iudicabit ipsos iudices & Reges, [...]"), Kochanowski's manner of expression in these lines is closer to that of Buchanan's translation.

⁵⁹ Campensis and Estienne do not identify the speaker in this verse, while Calvin identifies him as the Psalmist rather than God ("Multi existimant describi iudicii modum: sed mihi potius videtur Propheta, vt obiurgationi viam pararet"). Thus it is extremely likely that "powiada" derives from Buchanan's translation.

- 49 Psalm LXXXII, 13: Próżno radze: [...]⁶⁰
 Buchanan, 13: Frustra monemus. [...]
- 50 Psalm LXXXIII, 15-16: [...] kiedy zbite głowy
 Niósł po wodzie szałatny strumień Cissonowy.⁶¹
 Buchanan, 18-19: Cissontis yndas turbidas cum sanguine
Tinxere: [...]
- 51 Psalm LXXXIV, 1-2: Boże nasz, u którego w ręku wszystkie boje,
 Jako są wdzięczne pałace Twoje.⁶²
 Buchanan, 1-2: O Rex armipotens, qui creperos tuo
Bellorum arbitrio diuidis exitus,
- 52 Psalm LXXXV, 13-14: Ty nas ożywić masz nedzą zmorzone,
 Ty uweselić w smutku położone.⁶³
 Buchanan, 15-18: Respice nos melior tantum: quodcunque misellæ
Spirat adhuc animæ, te respiciente vigorem
Accipiet: populoque tuo, iam nube repulsa
Tristitiæ, lætos hilarabunt gaudia vultus.
- 53 Psalm LXXXV, 31-32: A sprawiedliwość, gdzie On stąpi, wszędzie
 Przy boku będzie.
 Buchanan, 32-33: Et quacunque feret Dominus vestigia, gressus
Ante ferent ius fasque suos. [...]
- 54 Psalm LXXXVI, 9-10: Smiłuj się, smiłuj: Twej pomocy
Od rana wołam aż do nocy.⁶⁴
 Buchanan, 7-8: Serua inuocantem iugiter
A solis ortu ad vesperum.

⁶⁰ While Kochanowski's rendering almost certainly derives from Buchanan's translation, we find something similar, though rather less concise, in Campensis' translation ("Nihil facti sunt admonitionibus his sapientiores").

⁶¹ Although Kochanowski's rendering differs somewhat from Buchanan's, nonetheless, the reference to the stream known as Cisson being stained with blood probably derives from here.

⁶² While Kochanowski's rendering in line 2 adheres quite closely to the biblical text, the reference to God deciding the outcome of battles appears to derive from Buchanan's translation (cf. Calvin: "Iehoua exercituum"; Campensis: "domine exercituum"; Vulgate: "domine virtutum"). This reference is repeated in line 17.

⁶³ It is apparent from Kochanowski's references to wretchedness and sorrow, and from his decision to render this passage as a statement of fact rather than as a question, as in the biblical text, that he has based his rendering on Buchanan's translation.

⁶⁴ Although Kochanowski's manner of expression is similar to that of Buchanan, it is not certain that he derived his rendering from here, for he adheres to the biblical text (cf. Calvin: "ad te clamo quotidie [vel, tota die]"; Pagninus: "ad te clamo omni die"; Vulgate: "ad te clamaui tota die").

- 55 Psalm LXXXVI, 21-22: Niech świat wymyśla bogi sobie,
Żaden nie będzie równie Tobie.
Buchanan, 17: Nullus deorum par tibi:
- 56 Psalm LXXXVI, 29-30: Tys ani wiekiem okreszony.
Ani w swej mocy zamierzony:
Buchanan, 25-26: Solus nec æui termino
Inclusus, aut potentie,
- 57 Psalm LXXXVII, 1-4: Pan między wszystkimi
Miastami Żydowskimi,
Piękne Siońskie umiłowat brony:
Ich grunt na górach świętych założony.⁶⁵
Buchanan, 1-4: Abramidarum cæteras vrbes supra
Dominus Sionis diligit
Portas, Sionis, imminet quæ montium
Fundata sanctis collibus.
- 58 Psalm LXXXVII, 23-24: [...] jestli w głowie mojej
Też co takiego, wszystko ku czci Twojej.⁶⁶
Buchanan, 23-24: Et siquid animus voce dignum excogitet,
Animus Sioni seruiet.
- 59 Psalm LXXXVIII, 5-6: Nieszczęście duszę trapi, troski nie masz miary,
Żywot już widzi prawie swe mary.⁶⁷
Buchanan, 5-6: Mens hebetata malis torpet, confecta dolore
Funereas spectat languida vita faces.
- 60 Psalm LXXXVIII, 7-8: Ciało zgola już martwe, sił nie czuję w sobie,
Myśl moja wszystka tylko o grobie.
Buchanan, 7-8: Membra vigor liquit: mors vnguibus imminet atris,
De tumulo tantum iam mihi cura meo est.

⁶⁵ Kochanowski is indebted to Buchanan not only for the reference to cities rather than tents, but also for his manner of expression, placing the reference to foundations at the end of this verse rather than at the beginning. However, Kochanowski refers the foundations back to the gates or to the cities rather than to Sion, as in Buchanan's translation and the biblical text. I can find no precedent for this change to the text.

⁶⁶ While Kochanowski's manner of expression is very similar to Buchanan's in these lines, he appears to be following Campensis in saying that he shall praise God (cf. Calvin: "Et cantores sicut tibicines, omnes fontes mei in te"; Campensis: "& mea omnia studia occupata erunt in laudando te, propter hæc tam mira quæ fient in te"; Vulgate: "Sicut lætantium omnium, habitatio est in te").

⁶⁷ Although Kochanowski refers to a different aspect of the funeral than does Buchanan, pointing to the funeral bier rather than to the torches which accompany the funeral procession, nonetheless, the fact that the Psalmist states in both versions that he was able to see his funeral rather than that he was approaching the grave (as in the Hebrew text) or hell (as in the Vulgate text), indicates that Kochanowski probably based his rendering on Buchanan's translation.

- 61 Psalm LXXXVIII, 27-28: Ciebie ja przetsię wzywam: do Ciebie, mój Panie,
Nigdy mej prośby głos nie ustanie.
- Buchanan, 31-32: Ast ego, sancte parens, supplex tua numina clamo:
Nec precibus vacua est hora locusve meis.
- 62 Psalm LXXXVIII, 31-32: Troski mię z lat namłodszych moich naszlądują,
Twoje mię ciężkie strachy zajmują.⁶⁸
- Buchanan, 35-36: Me dolor & primis labor anxius vrit ab annis.
Me trepidi exanimant corde micante metus.
- 63 Psalm LXXXIX, 3-8: A pierwej świat (rzecz pewna) wniwecz się obróci,
Niżli się Pańskie Twoje słowo nazad wróci.
Które to było: Słudze Dawidowi swemu
Obiecuję, a on niech ufa słowu memu:
Póki morza, i ziemię, póki nieba stawać,
Plemię nie ma, i jego stolica ustawać.
- Buchanan, 4-10: [...] citius quoque sydera credam
In chaos antiquum lapso se condere mundo,
Irrita quam sacri credam fore foedera pacti,
His concepta tuo quondam cum Dauide verbis,
Dum mare, dum tellus staret, dum sydera cæli,
Dauidici generis mansuram in sæcula prolem,
En stabilem regni ventura in tempora sedem.
- 64 Psalm LXXXIX, 11-14: Kto na ziemi porowna z Tobą? kto na niebie?
Wszystki rzesze niebieskie lekają się Ciebie.
Wszyscy mocarze ziemscy Tobie bija czołem,
A jasność prawdy Twojej obeszła Cię kołem.⁶⁹
- Buchanan, 14-18: [...] quem terra tibi, quem conferet æther
Magen parens? quem syderei tremit omnis olympi
Cœtus, & attoniti submissa mente tyranni.
Armorum bellicque potens, quocunque moueris,
Alma fides clara circum te luce refulget.

⁶⁸ While the Vulgate text refers to the Psalmist being in labours ("in laboribus"), by which I understand it to mean that he was afflicted by cares, and the Hebrew text refers to him being afraid, the fact that Kochanowski refers to both these details indicates that he has based his rendering on Buchanan's translation.

⁶⁹ Following Buchanan, Kochanowski has reversed the order in which the references to heaven and earth occur in line 11. The reference to heavenly assemblies and to earthly rulers also derives from Buchanan's translation (cf. Calvin: "Deus terribilis in cœtu Sanctorum valde, & metuendus super omnes qui in circuitu eius sunt"; Campensis: "Deus miris modis magnus est, & suscipiendus etiam in cœtu sanctorum suorum, & metuendus cunctis, qui circa illum sunt"; Vulgate: "Deus qui glorificatur in consilio sanctorum, magnus & terribilis super omnes qui in circuitu eius sunt"). While the biblical text does refer to God's truth being round about him in verse 8 (cf. Calvin: "Iehoua Deus exercituum quis sicut tu fortis Deus? & veritas tua per circuitos tuos"; Vulgate: "Domine deus virtutum, quis similis tibi, veritas tua in circuitu tuo"), Kochanowski's manner of expression in line 14 is closer to Buchanan's translation. It should be noted that Kochanowski has omitted the first part of verse 8.

- 65 Psalm LXXXIX, 15-16: Ty pychę morską króćisz: Ty nieujędzone
Wały jego hamujesz pod niebo wzniesione.⁷⁰
- Buchanan, 19-20: Tu maris irati furias compescis, & vnda
Deiicis insanæ tumidos ad sydera fluctus.
- 66 Psalm LXXXIX, 17: Tyś hardego Tyranna plagą swą uskromił,⁷¹
- Buchanan, 21: Tu Pharon elatam lethali vulnere sternis,
- 67 Psalm LXXXIX, 19-20: Twe jest niebo, Twa ziemia: wszystko musi Tobie
Przypisać, cokolwiek świat wielki zamknął w sobie.
- Buchanan, 23-25: [...] quæcunque capaci
Complexu facies mundi reuolubilis ambit,
Authorem agnoscunt: [...]
- 68 Psalm LXXXIX, 25-26: Litość, a prawda boku Twego przestrzegają.
Szczęśliwi ludzie, którzy głos Pańskich tręb znają:
- Buchanan, 32-34: [...] O terque quaterque
Felices, quos festarum clangore tubarum
Ad tua sacra vocas: [...]
- 69 Psalm LXXXIX, 37-40: Temu ja serca będę i siły dodawał,
W każdej potrzebie jego z nim będę przestawał.
Nigdy go nieprzyjacieł jego nie pożyje,
Lub nań fortelem pójdzie, lub nań wojska zbije.
- Buchanan, 45-47: Huic animum viresque dabo, præsensque tuebor
Perpetuo, ne fraude scelus, ne robur aperte
Exitium ferat: [...]
- 70 Psalm LXXXIX, 79-80: Ozdoba wszystka jego, i świetność zaćmiona,
A stolica nogami wzgórę wywrócona.⁷²
- Buchanan, 89-90: Iam decus & regni splendor, iam proxima cælo
Maiestas versa in tenebras, [...]

⁷⁰ While Kochanowski has adhered to the biblical text in line 15, and in his choice of verb in line 16, nonetheless, the fact that he refers specifically to the waves rising up towards the heavens rather than simply to high seas suggests the influence of Buchanan's translation (cf. Calvin: "dum attoluntur fluctus eius, compescis eos"; Campensis: "si ferocire cœperint, & in altum se sustollere fluctus eius: tu potestate tua dum vis compescis illos"; Vulgate: "motum autem fluctuum eius tu mitigas").

⁷¹ Although Kochanowski might have derived the adjective "hardego" from the Vulgate text, the fact that he refers "hardego Tyranna" suggests that he probably based his rendering on Buchanan's translation rather than from the biblical text (cf. Calvin: "Tu afflixisti sicut vulneratum Ægyptum"; Campensis: "Tu percussisti potentissimum illum ægypti regem"; Vulgate: "Tu humiliasti sicut vulneratum superbum").

⁷² While the reference to the splendour of David's kingdom is common to the Hebrew text, only Buchanan states that it has been turned into darkness rather than being deleted or made to cease.

- 71 Psalm LXXXIX, 83-84: Będzie wzdram koniec kiedy tej niełasce? stanie
Wzdram twój srogi gniew kiedy, nieśmiertelny Panie?⁷³
- Buchanan, 94-96: Quem finem dabis ærumnis? numquamne tuorum
 Respicias clades vultu placatus amico?
 An, ceu flamma furens, semper tua sæuiet ira?
- 72 Psalm LXXXIX, 85-87: Wspomni sobie, jako kres ciasny mego wieka:
 Izalibys Ty próżno stworzyć miał człowieka?
 Żeby i ten lichy czas w troskach miał położyć?⁷⁴
- Buchanan, 97-100: Ipse memor tecum reputa quam concita nostræ
Tempora prætereant vitæ. frustra ergo crearis
 Humani generis sobolem? vt breuis exigat æui
Tempora, perpetuo curarum exercita fluctu?
- 73 Psalm LXXXIX, 90-92: Gdzie, Panie, zwykła dobroć, i przymierze sławne
Z Dawidem uczynione? nakłoń oczu swoich
 Pańskich, a urąganiu sług sie przypatrz Twoich.
- Buchanan, 103-106: Heu bonitas vbi prisca? fides vbi pristina? vbi illa
Fœdera conceptis quondam cum Dauide verbis
Facta tibi? cerne opprobriis quibus impia seruos
 Turba tuos premat insultans: [...]

(b) Flaminius.

(c) Hesus.

(d) Spinula.

There is no evidence to suggest that Kochanowski made use of the translations by Flaminius, Hesus or Spinula in this book.

⁷³ The fact that Kochanowski is concerned not with the divine disfavour itself but with establishing when it will end suggests that he has made use of Buchanan's translation.

⁷⁴ While line 85 bears a certain similarity to Buchanan's translation, it might equally derive from Estienne's note ("Memento quid ego sim & quod tempus. i. quam fragilis, & quam breuis vitæ in hoc mundo"). The influence of Buchanan is further suggested by the reference to cares in line 87. It is my opinion, therefore, that both these references derive from the Scot's translation rather than from Estienne's note.

6.4.1: Analysis: Book 3

The table below shows that, once again, Kochanowski has made significant use of the translation by Campensis, Estienne's notes, and Buchanan's verse paraphrases.

Book 3										
Psalm	Prose Translations				Commentaries		Verse Translations			
	Calvin	Camp	Pagn.	Vulg.	Calvin	Est.	Buch.	Flam.	Hess.	Spin.
LXXIII				1	4	2	5			
LXXIV	1	2			2	1	6			
LXXV		1		1	1	2	5			
LXXVI				1		1	1			
LXXVII	1	1	2		2		4			
LXXVIII	1	3		5	2	4	15			
LXXXIX		1			1	1	4			
LXXX		2		1		1	3			
LXXXI		2			1		3			
LXXXII							3			
LXXXIII		5		1			1			
LXXXIV	1		1			1	1			
LXXXV		1				2	2			
LXXXVI		3			1	2	3			
LXXXVII		1					2			
LXXXVIII	1		2	1	1		4			
LXXXIX		2			1		11			

It will also be noted that again a significant number of Psalms reveal the influence of Calvin's commentary. While Kochanowski makes only limited use of Calvin's translation in *Psałterz Dawidów*,⁷⁵ the importance of his commentary should not be underestimated.

Despite Stanisław Dobrzycki's assertion that there only five passages in the whole of *Psałterz Dawidów* where Kochanowski's rendering contains details which might derive from Calvin's commentary,⁷⁶ and the fact that no other scholar has even mentioned this work as a possible source of Kochanowski's translation, it is quite apparent that this is the main exegetical work used by Kochanowski in the preparation of his translation. Kochanowski used this commentary in 73.2% of the Psalms in Book 1, 58.1% of those in Book 2, 58.8% of those in Book 3, 35.3% of those in Book 4, and 29.5% of those in Book

⁷⁵ Passages which reveal the influence of Calvin's translation can be found in 24.4% of the Psalms in Book 1, 16.1% of those in Book 2, 29.4% of those in Book 3, 17.6% of those in Book 4, and only 4.5% of those in Book 5. Moreover, with the exception of three Psalms in Book 1 (Psalms 18, 32 and 39), instances of coincidence between Kochanowski's rendering and Calvin's translation are limited to a single example in each Psalm.

⁷⁶ S. Dobrzycki, op. cit., pp. 50 and 55. The five passages referred to by Dobrzycki are: Psalm 2, line 20; Psalm 42, lines 13-16; Psalm 87, lines 7-8; Psalm 118, lines 57-58; Psalm 122, lines 3-4.

5. Thus, similarities to Calvin's commentary can be seen in seventy-seven of the one hundred and fifty Psalms.⁷⁷

Furthermore, while the influence of Estienne's notes is, for the most part, restricted to one or two passages within a Psalm,⁷⁸ we find numerous instances where Kochanowski has used Calvin's commentary several times within a single Psalm.⁷⁹ In total, there are one hundred and thirty-seven passages in *Psałterz Dawidów* in which Kochanowski's translation bears a clear resemblance to Calvin's commentary and six others (three each in Books 1 and 2) in which Kochanowski appears to have used Calvin's commentary, though he does not adopt the exegete's preferred interpretation.

As in the case of Estienne's notes, so too in the case of Calvin's commentary the importance of the exegetical material has no bearing on Kochanowski's use of the accompanying translation. Indeed, he makes relatively little use of either Calvin's translation or Pagninus' rendering.⁸⁰

The fact that Kochanowski used Pagninus' translation so infrequently is not altogether surprising. Pagninus, a Catholic, though ostensibly undertaking a fresh translation of the biblical text from Hebrew into Latin prose, adheres closely to the Vulgate text in significantly more passages than do other, Protestant, translators. Moreover, since the text of the translation and the accompanying notes were written by different men, who certainly do not appear to have collaborated,⁸¹ this may account for Kochanowski's different attitudes towards the two elements of this volume.

⁷⁷ It is worth reiterating the fact that I have not yet made a detailed study of the Polish Calvinist Bible. While there are some passages where it is clear that Kochanowski has derived a detail from Calvin's commentary and not from the Calvinist Bible, I cannot state categorically that in none of the passages where I have noted similarities between *Psałterz Dawidów* and Calvin's commentary have these readings come via the Calvinist Bible.

⁷⁸ There are three notable exceptions. Kochanowski makes use of Estienne's notes four times in Psalms 68, 78 and 119.

⁷⁹ Kochanowski uses Calvin's commentary three times in Psalms 16, 24, 26, 35, 37, 39, 40, 44 and 50, four times in Psalms 25, 72, 73, 102 and 105, five times in Psalm 68, and six times in Psalm 49.

⁸⁰ Kochanowski uses Pagninus' translation in 11.4% of the Psalms in Book 1, 12.9% of those in Book 2, 17.6% of those in Book 3, 11.8% of those in Book 4, and only once in Book 5 (2.3%). Moreover, with the exception of Psalms 77 and 88, where Kochanowski has used this translation twice, instances of coincidence between Kochanowski's rendering and Pagninus' translation are limited to a single example in each Psalm.

⁸¹ Indeed, there is no evidence to suggest that François Vatable ever intended these notes to be published. Rather, they appear to have been collected together from his other writings and from his lectures by the publisher Robert Estienne.

Such practices were not unheard of in the sixteenth century. Estienne's brother, Henri, was later to publish Buchanan's paraphrases without the poet's consent, at a time when he was still revising the text. In a letter of 24 July 1566, Buchanan instructed a friend to take steps to prevent Estienne printing the work in future without first seeking his permission.

Although they are short, presuppose some knowledge of Hebrew (for phrases cited by Vatable are not translated) and, because they were not written for the purpose to which they were put by Estienne, are not always found in passages where some explanation would be desirable,⁸² these notes were gleaned from one of the leading Hebraists in Europe. Therefore, it is only natural that Kochanowski, who appears to have selected his sources very carefully, should have chosen this text, and it is quite apparent that he chose it precisely because of the commentary.

As for the relative paucity of passages revealing the influence of Calvin's translation, this can be easily explained. Calvin's translation is a literal rendering of the Hebrew text and, by its nature, does not differ significantly from other Latin prose translations in most instances. There are, however, some passages in which his rendering does differ from other versions and, in those instances where a corresponding word or phrase can be found in Kochanowski's text, it is possible to show that the poet derived this detail from Calvin's translation.

Moreover, Calvin's translation and commentary exist in a symbiotic relationship, the one illustrating the other. Since the commentary is an explanation of the biblical text rather than an attempt to reproduce its style and content in Latin, Calvin is able to expand upon ideas obscured by the Psalmist's manner of expression. It is in this expansion, in the

82 Dobrzycki, op. cit., p. 57, has a very different opinion of this text. Perhaps because of his great desire to convince the readers that this work, containing a Catholic translation, was the principle exegetical work employed by Kochanowski, he speaks of it in glowing terms.

Of the translation, he writes: "Podając dwa teksty, daje sposobność do porównywań, pozwala naderłatwo wybrać sobie taką lekcję, która artystycznym celom lepiej odpowiada. Tekst Pagnina jest tak skonstruowany, że zrozumienie już ułatwia: daje w nawiasie wyrazy, których nie ma w tekście hebrajskim, a których domaga się składnia języków nowożytnych, wyrazy, które myśl oryginału wyrażają jaśniej i dla czytelnika nie specjalisty, nie biegłego w lekturze starej hebrajszczyzny, przystępniej; tym sposobem zaś już samo tłumaczenie jest rodzajem komentarza."

These claims are extremely misleading. In the first place, the "wyrazy" are, in fact, single words, often the relative pronoun, and are present only because they can be omitted in Hebrew but not in Latin. In no way can they be said to be "rodzajem komentarza". Secondly, Dobrzycki implies that Pagninus has done something extraordinary by indicating those words which he has been compelled to add. However, we find the same thing in most Latin and vernacular translations (in Calvin's rendering they are indicated by a larger typeface). Indeed, David Frick, *Polish Sacred Philology in the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation: Chapters in the History of the Controversies (1551-1632)* (University of California Press, 1989), p. 77, indicates that the Polish Calvinist Bible was exceptional in breaking with this tradition: "The Brest translators stand apart from previous Polish biblical philologists in their explicit espousal of a certain freedom in translation and in their refusal [...] to indicate which words and phrases were added to aid the sense [...]"

As for the commentary, Dobrzycki describes it as: "bardzo obfity, nie pozostawiający miejsc niezrozumiałych i trudnych bez odpowiedzi, i komentarz taki, jakiego Kochanowski przedewszystkiem pragnął" and opines that "dziś jeszcze, kto pragnie zrozumieć psalmy, jako dzieło poezji starohebrajskiej, znajdzie tam bardzo wiele pouczenia i pomocy." However, the commentary is clearly a collection of notes and is a fraction of the length of the exegetical works by Bugenhagenius, Calvin, Titelmannus, Torquemada, and any number of other commentators. Furthermore, neither these notes nor the commentaries cited above give any significant help in understanding the Psalms as works of Hebrew poetry. Rather, they do little more than try to explain the occasional indications given in the incipits as to the intended musical accompaniment.

paraphrasing of the biblical text that we find the majority of instances of similarity between Kochanowski's rendering and Calvin's commentary. These passages fall into two categories: those in which Kochanowski's rendering recalls a word or phrase contained in Calvin's commentary, and those in which his version can be seen to have been influenced by the interpretation offered by Calvin.

There are, therefore, relatively few passages in which Kochanowski can be seen to derive a phrase from the translation rather than the commentary, and these are restricted, for the most part, to those passages where the meaning of the biblical text is clear.

It is clear, however, that, just as Kochanowski relied above all on Buchanan's paraphrases as a guide to rendering the Psalms in verse, so he relied most heavily on Calvin's commentary for his understanding of the biblical text.

6.5: Book 4

I. Prose Translations.

(a) Calvin.

- 1 Psalm XCI, 7-8: W cieniu swych skrzydeł zachowa cię wiecznie,
Pod Jego piory ułęczesz bezpiecznie.¹
- Calvin, v. 4: Alis suis proteget te, & sub pennis eius tutus eris, [...]
- Vulgate XC, v. 4: Scapulis suis obumbrabit tibi, & sub pennis eius sperabis.
- 2 Psalm XCV, 14: A nie mieszkajmy upaść na kolana²
- Calvin, v. 6: [...] & procidamus, genu flectans [...]
- Vulgate XCIV, v. 6: [...] & procidamus, & ploremus [...]
- 3 Psalm CVI, 73-76: K temu, nad woła Pańska, pohańców nie bili,
I owszem sie szaleni do nich przyłączyli.
Skąd i spraw naszladować, i ryte ich bogi
Chwalić jęli, na swój żal, i upadek srogi.³
- Calvin, vv. 34-36: Non perdiderunt populos de quibus mandauerat illis
Iehoua:
Et commisti fuerunt Gentibus, & didicerunt opera eorum:
Et seruierunt simulachris eorum, & fuerunt illis in ruinam.
- Vulgate CV, vv. 33-34: [...] non disperdiderunt gentes quas dixit dominus
deus illis.
Et commixti sunt inter gentes, & didicerunt opera
eorum, & seruierunt sculptilibus eorum, & factum est
illis scandalum.

¹ While the reference to feathers might derive from the Vulgate text, the fact that Kochanowski also refers to safety indicates that he is following the Hebrew text (cf. Campensis: "Alis suis cooperiet te, & sub pennis illius tutus eris: [...]"; Pagninus: "Alis suis teget te, & sub alis eius securus eris: [...]"). Kochanowski's rendering in line 7 allows us to identify the Latin translation of the Hebrew text that he used for, while other translators of the Hebrew text refer to God covering the pious man with His wings, the verb used by Calvin conveys not only covering but also protection. Kochanowski is following the verse divisions of the Vulgate text.

² While we also find a reference to genuflection in Campensis' translation, he does not refer to the faithful prostrating themselves before God ("[...] & supplices efficiamur: & genua flectamus [...]").

³ These lines are a free translation of the biblical text. However, the reference to the Israelites' downfall clearly derives from Calvin's translation of the Hebrew text (cf. Pagninus: "laqueus"; Vulgate: "scandalum"), which is also the probable source of the reference to God's will (cf. Pagninus: "de quibus dixerat illis Iehouah"; Vulgate: "quas dixit dominus deus illis").

(b) Campensis.

- 1 Psalm XC, 13-14: Tysiąc lat, o niezmierzony,
Z Twoją wiecznością złożony,
- Campensis, v. 4: Mille profecto anni apud te & cum tua æternitate collati,
[....]
- 2 Psalm XC, 25: Taki nasz wiek: [...]
- Campensis, v. 7: Et tanquam non sit in annis nostris paucis mali satis, [....]⁴
- 3 Psalm XCI, 1: Kto sie w opiece poda Panu swemu,⁵
- Campensis, v. 1: Quicunque committit se protectioni altissimi: [....]
- 4 Psalm XCI, 21-22: Anjołom swoim każe cię pilnować
Gdziekolwiek stąpisz:
- Campensis, v. 11: Mandavit enim angelis suis curam tui, vt solliciti sint
pro te quacunque iueris.
- 5 Psalm XCII, 10: Patrząc na sprawy Twey wszechmocności.
- Campensis, v. 4: [...] operibus, e quibus colligi facile potest
omnipotentia manus tuæ, [....]
- 6 Psalm XCIII, 5-6: Stolica Jego od początku świata
Jest założona: a On wszystkie lata
Uprowadził: ale i wieków nie zostanie,
A On zostanie.⁶
- Campensis, v. 2: Stabile est regnum solii tui, & fuit ante constitutionem
mundi, & ab ipsa constitutione vsque in perpetuum
ipse ille: [....]
- 7 Psalm XCV, 4: Szafarzem zdrowia, [...] ⁷
- Campensis, v. 1: [...] & autorem salutis.

⁴ This clause suggests that Kochanowski used Campensis' translation here for there is no conjoining passage and no reference to man's years in the biblical text.

⁵ While Kochanowski's rendering in line 2 indicates that he has produced a free translation of the biblical text and, therefore, line 1 might also be a free translation of the Vulgate text, his manner of expression in this line agrees very closely with Campensis' translation.

⁶ While the references to God existing from before the world was created and continuing to exist for ever appear to be a free translation of Campensis' version (cf. Calvin: "Stabile solium tuum, ex tunc a seculo tu es"; Vulgate: "Parata sedes tua ex nunc, a seculo tu es"), I can find no precedent for his rendering in the second hemistich of line 8.

⁷ It seems likely that the reference to God as "Szafarzem zdrowia", for which there is no equivalent in the biblical text, is a free translation of Campensis' version.

- 8 Psalm XCV, 17-18: A my lud Jego: o których On wczasie
Zawždy przemysła, i które sam pasie.⁸
- Campensis, v. 7: [...] nos autem populus, qui pabulo ipsius victitamus,
& veluti grex ouium curæ & omnipotentiae illius
commissi: [...]
- 9 Psalm XCV, 27-30: [...] ci ludzie szaleja,
Ani uważyc moich słów umieja.
Przetom też przysięgł gniewiem zapalony,
Że ich miał minąć pokój namieniony.
- Campensis, vv. 10-11: [...] verum ipsis nihil eorum, quæ ego dicebam, curæ
erat.
Quare quum finem insaniendi non facerent, iuravi
iratus, me non introductorum illos in locum illum
quietissimum, in quem perducere decreueram.
- 10 Psalm XCVI, 7: Niechaj łaska Jego słynie,⁹
- Campensis, v. 2: [...] prædicare de die in diem salutem, qua seruati estis
beneficio ipsius
- 11 Psalm XCVI, 11-12: Gdziekolwiek ludzie mieszkaja,
Niech cudów Jego słuchaja.
- Campensis, v. 3: [...] vniuersis qui vsque habitant populis stupenda
opera illius.
- 12 Psalm XCVI, 17-18: Wszystko to błąd, nie bogowie,
Co pogaństwo bogi zowie:¹⁰
- Campensis, v. 5: Omnia enim, quæ reliquæ nationes habent pro diis,
nihil sunt: [...]
- 13 Psalm XCVI, 30-31: Jaka ma być imieniowi,
Wedla powinności, dana
- Campensis, v. 8: [...] quæ respondet nomini ipsius: [...]

⁸ While I can find no precedent for Kochanowski's manner of expression in these lines, it is probable that they are a free translation of Campensis' rendering, for other translations of the biblical text do not refer to God feeding the people or to His concern for their well-being (cf. Calvin: "[...] & nos populus pascuorum eius, & grex manus eius: [...]"; Vulgate: "Et nos populus pascuæ eius, & oues manus eius").

The fact that Kochanowski places the reference to the Israelites being God's people at the start of the sentence, and that the stanza break coincides with a verse division in the Vulgate text indicates that he is modelling his rendering on the Vulgate text.

⁹ It is possible that this line owes something to Campensis' translation, which adds a clause qualifying "salutem" as a manifestation of God's munificence.

¹⁰ While it is possible that Kochanowski based his rendering on any one of the Latin translations of the Hebrew text (cf. Calvin: "Quia omnes dii Gentium vanitates: [...]"; Vulgate: "Quoniam omnes dii gentium dæmonia: [...]"), his manner of expression suggests that this is a free translation of Campensis' version.

- 14 Psalm XCVI, 33-35: Dary znamięnite nieście,
A do bran się Jego śpieszcie:
Bijcie czołem przed swym Panem,
Campensis, vv. 8-9: [...] arripite munera, & properate ad atria ipsius.
Prosternite vos ante dominum, [...]
- 15 Psalm XCVI, 39-40: Niech wszytek świat ten głos czuje,
Pan na królestwo wstępuje.
Campensis, v. 10: Narrate exteris nationibus dominum suscepisse
regnandi prouinciam: [...]
- 16 Psalm XCIX, 7: Ty miłujesz sprawiedliwość, [...]
Campensis, v. 4: Quauis potens sit dominus, non tyrannidem exercebit,
sed æquitatem, cuius amantissimus est: [...]
- 17 Psalm XCIX, 10: Podnożkowi (bo jest święty) Jego się kłaniajcie.
Campensis, v. 5: [...] & prosternite vos ad scabellum pedum ipsius: [...]
- 18 Psalm XCIX, 14: I z obłoku okrągłego umawiał się z niemi.¹¹
Campensis, v. 7: Ex nube, quæ formam columnæ habebat, loquebantur
cum eis: paruerunt admonitionibus ipsius, & pactum
iniit cum eis.
- 19 Psalm C, 2: Ku czci Panu wesoło krzyknicie,
Campensis, v. 1: Iubilare in honorem domini, [...]
- 20 Psalm CII, 32: A śnadź już czas przyszedł, żeby go ratować.
Campensis, v. 13: [...] & tempus illud redemptionis appetere videtur iam
nunc.
- 21 Psalm CII, 37-38: [...] Ty znowu miasto swe naprawisz,
I w swym majestacie widomie się stawisz:¹²
Campensis, v. 16: Vbi reædificauerit dominus Sion conspicius apparebit
maiestate sua

¹¹ The fact that "umawiać" suggests entering into a contract with someone rather than simply talking to them, it is very likely that Kochanowski based his rendering in this line on Campensis' translation.

¹² While the references to rebuilding Jerusalem and to God's majesty might equally derive from Buchanan's translation (lines 53-54: "Versam restituēt quum Solymam, suæ / Maiestatis opes quum dabit aspici"), the adverb "widomie" suggests that Kochanowski based his rendering on Campensis' version.

- 22 Psalm CIV, 8: [...] słudzy, gromy zapalone:
Campensis, v. 4: [...] pergunt fulgura ignita.
- 23 Psalm CIV, 24: Nie przestają powtarzać pieśni ulubionych.
Campensis, v. 12: [...] ex mediis arborum ramis cantillabunt.
- 24 Psalm CIV, 35: Tam wróble gniazda noszą: jodła bocianowi,¹³
Campensis, v. 17: In quibus nidulantur passeres, ciconia nidum suum
ponit in abiete.
- 25 Psalm CIV, 43: Żwierz do jaskiń uchodzi, [...]
Campensis, v. 22: [...] & rursum recipient se turmatim in antra sua, [...]
- 26 Psalm CIV, 65: Tylko Jemu niech wdzięczne będą pieśni moje,
Campensis, v. 34: Grata sit illi cantio mea, [...]
- 27 Psalm CV, 3: Jemu rym, Jemu służcie wesołe stróny,¹⁴
[...] psallite in honorem illius musicis instrumentis, [...]
- 28 Psalm CV, 13-14: Pomni na ligę swoją, i wszystkie rzeczy
Ma w umowie zamknięte na dobrej pieczy.¹⁵
Campensis, vv. 8-9: Meminit pacti sui, nec obliuiscetur eius vnquam:
quicquid enim promisit, constantissime seruabit: etiam
si mille sibi mutuo generationes succedant.
Memor erit eius foederis, quod percussit cum Abraham,
[...]

¹³ It seems likely that Kochanowski based his rendering in line 35 on Campensis' translation, for other Latin translations of the Hebrew text do not refer to sparrows, while the Vulgate text does not refer to storks or fir-trees (cf. Calvin: "Quia illic aues nidificant, ciconia cuius abietes sunt domus"; Pagninus: "Vt ibi aues nidificent: ciconia, abietes sunt domus"; Vulgate: "[...] illic passeres nidificabunt. Herodii domus dux est eorum, [...]").

¹⁴ Although Kochanowski has produced a free translation in this line, the reference to musical instruments suggests that it is a free translation of Campensis' version.

¹⁵ These lines represent a significant contraction of the biblical text. Indeed, Kochanowski has omitted much of verse 8 (cf. Calvin: "Recordatus est in seculum foederis sui: verbi quod mandauit in mille generationes. Quod pepigit cum Abraham, [...]" ; Vulgate: "Memor in seculum testamenti sui, verbi quod mandauit in mille generationes. Quod disposuit ad Abraham, [...]"). The fact that Kochanowski refers to an alliance or pact (line 13) in the first instance and then to the covenant suggests that these lines are a free translation of Campensis' version.

- 29 Psalm CV, 59: Potym wojska much spadły nieprzeliczone,¹⁶
Campensis, v. 31: [...] & subito prodiit omnis generis maxima muscarum
copia: [...]
- 30 Psalm CV, 80: Co kiedy Abramowi poślubić raczył.
Campensis, v. 42: [...] quod promiserat per sanctitatem suam Abrahæ
seruo suo.
- 31 Psalm CVI, 13-16: Głupi ojcowie naszy nie porozumieli
W Aegyptcie cudów Twoich: nie długo pomnieli
Wielkiej Twojej łaski: [...]¹⁷
Campensis, v. 7: Patres nostri in ægypto non prudenter expenderunt illa
stupenda quæ pro illis designaueras ipse: non diu
memores fuerunt omnimodæ, quam toties experti
fuerant, clementiæ tuæ, [...]
- 32 Psalm CVI, 43-44: Klekali (co winna rzecz tylko była Panu)
Przed wołem, woła głupszy, który przywykł sianu.¹⁸
Campensis, v. 19: Fecerunt sibi vitulum in Horeb, & prostrauerunt se
supplices ante statuam, quam ipsi conflauerant.
- 33 Psalm CVI, 53-54: Nawet i krajem onym pożądnym wzgardzili,
I Pańskim obietnicom prosto nie wierzyli.
Campensis, v. 24: Nihil his omnibus facti meliores spreuerunt terram
desiderabilem: nec enim crediderunt verbis illius,
quibus promiserat daturum se illam.
- 34 Psalm CVI, 61-62: I podali sie w jarzmo Baal Phegorowi,
I palili ofiary zdechłemu trupowi.¹⁹
Campensis, v. 18: Et subdiderunt sese iugo Baal Phegor, & comederunt
sacrificia oblata in venerationem mortuorum & nihili
deorum.

¹⁶ While it is possible that "wojska" in line 59 derives from Buchanan's translation, for the Scot refers to columns of lice (line 114: "agmina"), Kochanowski's rendering is closer to Campensis' version.

¹⁷ The references to the stupidity of the Israelites' forefathers, to the short duration of the effect of the wonders wrought in Egypt, and to God's great mercy (singular) rather than to the multitude of His mercies (cf. Calvin: "non recordati sunt multitudinis bonitatum tuarum"; Vulgate: "non fuerunt memores multitudinis misericordiæ tuæ") strongly suggest that Kochanowski made use of Campensis' translation in these lines.

¹⁸ While the biblical text refers to the Israelites worshipping the golden calf, the fact that Kochanowski states that they bowed down before it might indicate the influence of Campensis' translation.

¹⁹ The fact that Kochanowski refers to Baal as "Baal Phegor" indicates that he based his rendering on the Vulgate text or on Campensis' translation (cf. Calvin and Pagninus: "Baal peor"; Vulgate: "Beelphegor"). The influence of Campensis is further suggested by the references to the yoke and to Baal as a corpse.

(c) Pagninus.

- 1 Psalm XCI, 17: Iżeś rzekł Panu, Tyś nadzieja moja:
Pagninus, v. 9: Quoniam tu dixisti, Iehouah spes mea: [...]
- 2 Psalm XCIV, 11: I mówią, Nie widzi Bóg: [...] ²⁰
Pagninus, v. 7: Et dicunt, Non videt Iah, [...]

(d) Vulgate.

- 1 Psalm XCI, 3: Śmieie rzec może: mam obrońcę Boga,
Vulgate XC, v. 2: Dicet domino susceptor meus es tu, & refugium meum
deus meus sperabo in eum.
Calvin XCI, v. 1-2: Dicam Iehouæ, Spes mea & arx mea: Deus meus,
sperabo in ipso.
- 2 Psalm XCVII, 25-26: Niech sie wszyscy sromają,
Co cześć bałwanom dają, ²¹
Vulgate XCVI, v. 7: Confundantur omnes qui adorant sculptilia, [...]
Calvin XCVII, v. 7: Pudefiant omnes serui sculptilis, [...]
- 3 Psalm CII, 3-4: Nie odwracaj, czasu złej przygody mojej,
Ode mnie smutnego świętej twarzy swojej.
Vulgate CI, v. 2: Non auertas faciem tuam a me, in quacunque die
tribulor, [...]
Calvin CII, v. 3: Ne abscondas faciem tuam a me in die afflictionie meæ:
[...]
- 4 Psalm CII, 29-30: Ale Ty na wieki trwać będziesz, o Panie,
A pamiątka Twoja nigdy nie ustanie. ²²
Vulgate CI, v. 12: Tu autem domine in æternum permanes, & memoriale
tuum in generationem & generationem.
Calvin CII, v. 13: Et tu Iehoua in perpetuum habitabis: & memoria tui in
generationem & generationem.

²⁰ While the substance of what is said in this line is identical to other translations of the biblical text, Kochanowski's choice of tense is identical to that in Pagninus' version.

²¹ Line 26 might equally dervie from Campensis' translation ("Pudefiant quotquot colunt sculptile, [...]").

²² It is also possible that Kochanowski translated line 29 according to Pagninus' translation ("Tu autem Iehoua in seculum permanes"). However, the fact that he uses the adversative rather than the conjunctive particle indicates that he did not make use of the translations by Calvin or Campensis ("Verum tu domine perpetuo veluti securus, & nihil immutatus permanebis: [...]"). Line 30 is a free translation of the biblical text.

- 5 Psalm CII, 51-52: W ten czas, gdy lud wszytek, wszyscy przełożeni,
Gwoli służbie Pańskiej, będą zgromadzeni.
- Vulgate CII, v. 22: In conueniendo populos in vnum, & reges vt seruiant domino.
- Calvin CII, v. 23: Dum colligentur populi simul, & regna vt seruiant lehouæ.
- 6 Psalm CIII, 12: I sędzia sprawiedliwy wszech ukrzywdzonych.
- Vulgate CII, v. 6: [...] & iudicium omnibus iniuriam patientibus.
- Calvin CIII, v. 6: [...] & iudicia omnibus oppressis.
- 7 Psalm CIII, 13-14: Ten opowiedział drógi swe Mojżeszowi,
I wola swą ukazał Izrahelowi.
- Vulgate CII, v. 7: Notas fecit vias suas Moysi, filiis Israel voluntates suas.
- Calvin CIII, v. 7: Patefecit vias suas Mosi, filiis Israel facta sua.
- 8 Psalm CIV, 15-16: Skały ku gorze poszły, poła rościagnione,
Opanowały miejsca przez Cię naznaczone.
- Vulgate CIII, v. 8: Ascendunt montes & descendunt campi, in locum quem fundasti eis.
- Calvin CIV, v. 8: Ascendent montes, descendent valles ad locum quem fundasti eis.
- 9 Psalm CIV, 56: A kiedy twarz odwrócisz, wszyscy zasmuceni.²³
- Vulgate CIII, v. 28: Auertente autem se faciem turbabuntur, [....]
- Calvin CIV, v. 29: Abscondes faciem tuam, terre buntur: [....]

²³ This line might equally derive from Campensis' translation ("Si vero itatus auerteris faciem tuam ab eis, continuo turbanuntur: [....]").

II. Commentaries.

(a) Calvin.

- 1 Psalm XCIV, 35-36: Jako mię bardzo troski moje suszyły,
Tak mię wdzięczne pociechy Twoje chłodziły.²⁴
- Calvin, v. 19: *Cogitationes enim vocat anxias & perplexas curas, quibus fuisset obrutus, nisi Diuinitus adhibita fuisset aliqua consolatio.*
- 2 Psalm XCIV, 38: Którzy prawem Tyraństwo swe nakrywają:²⁵
- Calvin, v. 20: *Solii autem consulto meminit, quia non accusat vulgares sicarios, vel fures, quorum infamia passim nota sit, sed contra tyrannos inuehitur qui fallaci iuris prætectu opprimebant Ecclesiam.*
- 3 Psalm XCVII, 21: Nieba pięknego siły²⁶
- Calvin, v. 6: [...] *quanquam non minus probabilis erit Metonymia vel Synecdoche: vt sit continens pro contento. atque ita respondebit proximo membro, vbi non terram sed populos cælo confert.*
- 4 Psalm CII, 19-20: Nie smutniej narzeka wróbl na gniaździe mały,
Kiedy go maciory płocze odbieżały.
- Calvin, v. 7: *Tertia similitudo a passere sumpta, luctum inquietudinis plenum denotat[.] Etsi tsippor quamlibet auem significat, hic tamen non dubito pro passere accipi. Solitarium autem vocat, quia viduatus sit compare. Scimus autem auiculas illas tam impatienter viduitatem ferre, vt fere luctum omnem superent.*

²⁴ While it is possible that Kochanowski derived his reference to anxious cares from Estienne's note ("Quidam vertunt, Pro magnitudine anxiarum cogitationum intra me. Alii, in multitudine anxietatum mearum, [...]"), his rendering is closer to Calvin's commentary (cf. "troski", "curas").

²⁵ It is also possible that Kochanowski derived the reference to tyranny from Campensis' translation, although his version is rather more concise than the latter ("Nunquid commune tibi quicquam erit cum solio & potestate tyranni qui struit calumniam insontibus, idque suo more, & tanta calliditate vt legitime illud facere videatur?")

²⁶ While Kochanowski's rendering does not correspond exactly to any exegetical work (cf. Estienne: "Cæli linguam non habent: sed ideo inducit eos iustitiæ Dei præcones, [...]"), the fact that he refers to those who dwell in heaven rather than the heavens themselves suggests that he made use of Calvin's commentary.

- 5 Psalm CII, 21-22: Nieprzyjacieli patrząc cieszą się duszę swoją,
A szydząc przysięga przez osobę moją:
- Calvin, v. 9: Hac circumstantia sibi misericordiam conciliant fideles, quod hostibus suis non tantum sint ludibrio, sed etiam execrationi. De hac ergo indignitate conqueritur Propheta, quod electo Dei populo impii tam probe insultent: vt etiam mutuentur ex eius cladibus iurandi formulam.
- 6 Psalm CII, 23: A ja, miasto chleba, szczerem żyw popiołem,²⁷
- Calvin, v. 10: Quidam inuersum esse ordinem putant, ac notam similitudinis *caph* praepositam nomin[i] *lechem*, debere praefigi nomini *epher*: acsi dictum esset, Ego in pane meo plus reperi saporis quam in puluere. quia scilicet ciborum fastidium generet cordis mœstitia. Sed simplicius est, *puluerem comedisse loco panis*, qui humi prostrati iacerent, vt quasi terram lingerent.
- 7 Psalm CII, 33-34: Już ku rumom jego serce obrócili
Słudzy Twoi, już sie pustyń użalili.²⁸
- Calvin, v. 15: Subest autem in verbis pondus, quia *lapides Sionis* vocat deformem materiam quæ supererat ex ruinis: [...]. Et certe quum Dei auspiciis conditum fuisset Templum, & reparatio eius ab eodem Deo promissa, non oportuit ab eius ruinis auelli piorum affectus.
- 8 Psalm CIV, 46: Pełna jest wszytka ziemia Twej szczodroblewości,
- Calvin, v. 24: Sub *opibus* comprehenditur bonitas Dei, & beneficentia.
- 9 Psalm CIV, 47-48: Pełne, Panie, i wody: kto wyliczyć może
Wszytki rybie rodzaje, które żywi morze?²⁹
- Calvin, v. 25: Postquam de terrenis gloriae Dei testimoniis concionatus est, in mare quoque ascendit, [...]. Sed piscium abundantia & varietas gloriam Dei non parum amplificat in mari.

²⁷ Like Calvin, Estienne also rejects the reading in which ash or dust is compared to bread. However, the fact that Estienne prefers to view *caph* as standing for *beth* ("Quidam videntur legisse *lechem* per *beth*, vertentes, in pane. acsi diceret, panem fuisse pulueri permistum, quod iaceret terrae affixus. Huius sensui conuenit quod sequitur, & potum meum cum fletu miscui"), indicates that Kochanowski derived his rendering from Calvin's commentary.

²⁸ While Estienne also interprets "*lapides eius*" as referring to the ruins of Jerusalem, he understands it as denoting the ruins of the temple ("[...] tamen defixa erat in amorem templi, & in eius ruinas, [...]"). I think it is probable, therefore, that Kochanowski derived his rendering from Calvin's commentary, which starts with the ruins of the city as a whole and then refers to the temple specifically.

²⁹ It is apparent from the fact that he establishes a parallelism to link the references to the land and to the sea, that Kochanowski made use of Calvin's commentary in these lines. This is further reinforced by Kochanowski's manner of expression in lines 47-48 which implies that the fish of the sea are both very numerous and very varied.

- 10 Psalm CV, 61-62: Miasto dżdża z nieba padał grad kamienisty,
A z gradem niesłychany wicher ognisty.³⁰
- Calvin, v. 32: Grando igitur procelloso turbini fuit permista, [....]
- 11 Psalm CV, 67-68: Nakoniec płód wszelaki pierworodzony
Jednej nocy po wszystkim państwie zgładzony.
- Calvin, v. 36: Recitat tandem Propheta vltimum miraculum, quod
proxima nocte ante populi egressum edidit Angelus,
primogenita omnia occidendo.
- 12 Psalm CV, 71-72: I owszem wszytek Aegypt radzi ich zbyli,
Bo przed strachem ledwe już przy duszy byli.
- Calvin, v. 38: Vnde sequitur occultum esse opus prouidentiae Dei,
quod priorem affectum repente exuunt.
- 13 Psalm CV, 73-74: A Pan nad niemi obłok miasto zastłony
We dnie wieszał, a w nocy stup rospalony.
- Calvin, v. 39: Ergo post Maris transitum nubem extendit interdiu,
quæ populum protegeret ab æstu solis: noctu illuxit per
columnam ignis [....]³¹
- 14 Psalm CVI, 71-72: Bo frasując się starzec na ich płocze sprawy,
Tak mówił, że w rzeczy swej nie był Bogu prawy.
- Calvin, v. 33: Interea tamen docet Propheta, quanuis propter populum
castigatus fuerit Moses, non tamen fuisse extra culpam:
quia etsi eius impatientia a populi strepitu principium
habuit, debebat tamen stare firmior. Subiicit loquutum
fuisse labiis suis: quod ad Mosen refero. minus enim
probabilis est eorum coniectura qui exponunt denuntiam
fuisse desertis verbis pœnam. Potius enim exprimit,
Spiritum Mosis tanta peturbatione fuisse impulsus vt
Deo palam obstreperet.

³⁰ I can find no precedent for the reference in line 62 to a fiery wind. Rather it appears to be a conflation of the biblical text, which refers to fire, and Calvin's commentary, which is the only source in which mention is made of a wind.

³¹ While the reference to the cloud being present in the daytime could equally derive from Campensis' translation ("Expandit nubem, quæ esset illis instar vmbraculi per diem: & ignem incendit, qui lumine suo pelleret tenebras per noctem"), the fact that Kochanowski refers to a pillar of fire indicates that he based his rendering on Calvin's commentary. It should be noted that Calvin is mistaken; the pillars of cloud and of fire appear in Exodus xiii, 21-22, i.e. *before* the Israelites cross the Red Sea (Exodus xiv), and are not mentioned after the crossing.

(b) Estienne.

- 1 Psalm XC, 2-4: Nie ma indziej okrom Ciebie
Człowiek nieszczęściem strapiony
Ucieczki, ani obrony.³²
- Estienne, note to v. 1: *Habitaculum refugium*. [...] q. d. Licet simus peregrini, nec appareat certa sedes vbi quiescamus tanquam in patria: tu tamen Domine, quocunque nos ducas, eris habitatio nostra sicut fuisti patribus nostris: degemus sub tuo præsidio [....]
- 2 Psalm XC, 56: Okaż dobroć swą nad nami.
- Estienne, v. 16: 16 Opus tuum, Probrium Dei opus est benefacere seruis suis potius quam affligere. [...] Gloria Domini est mera eius bonitas & misericordias [....]
- 3 Psalm XCIV, 17-18: Kto świat karze za jego wszeteczne sprawy,
Waszym złościom jako być może łaskawy?
- Estienne, note to v. 10: Qui corripit, castigat, corripere solet.
- 4 Psalm XCIX, 18: I znacznie nad upornemi krzywdy ich wetował.
- Estienne, note to v. 8: Et ultionem capiens, &c. & vindicans opera eorum. vel, studia. i. adinventiones quas illi excogitabant in perniciem eorum, & vindictam sumens ob iniuriam ipsis illatam.
- 5 Psalm CII, 15-16: Krwie w sobie nie czuję, nie masz na mnie ciała,
Kości tylko biedne, a skóra została.
- Estienne, note to v. 6: Carnem in hoc versu pro cute accipit: vt aliquando cutem pro carne. q. d. Sic arefactus sum, vt iam non sit succulentum corpus, neque vlla sit caro intermedia: vel, ita vt non sit sanguis.
- 6 Psalm CII, 63-64: I lat nieskończonych: których uczesniki
Uczynisz, bez chyby swoje miłosniki.
- Estienne, note to v. 29: [...] & fiunt participes illius æternitatis [....]
- 7 Psalm CVI, 95-96: I zmięczył ludzkie serca, że ich litowali
I ci sami, u których w niewoli mieszkali.
- Estienne, note to v. 46: Et dedit eos in miserationes Hebraismus, pro, fecit vt ii qui illos in captiuitatem abduxerant, cum illis summa misericordia agerent.

³² While the Vulgate text and Campensis' translation pick up the reference to God being a refuge to the pious (cf. Campensis: "Domine tu fuisti nobis seculis superioribus instar asyli, ad quod tutissime confugere licebat"; Vulgate: "Dominum refugium factus es nobis, a generatione in generationem"), only Estienne refers to Him as both a refuge and a protection.

III. Verse Translations.

(a) Buchanan.

- 1 Psalm XC, 7-8: Krag niebieski jest stworzony,
Tyś jest Boże nieskończony.³³
- Buchanan, 5-11: Antequam tellus noua parturiret
Montium saltus, tegetetque montes
Lucidus cæli decor, ante metas
Lucis & vmbraë,
Tu manes idem pater orbis, vnus
Nec vices rerum patiens, nec æui
Termino clausus breuis: [...]
- 2 Psalm XC, 17-20: Jako woda siaknie w ziemię,
Tak niszczeje ludzkie plemię.
Podobnismy ku marnemu
Snu nocnemu nikczemnemu.³⁴
- Buchanan, 21-24: Nostra vanescit tenues in auras
Vita, per siccas velut vnda arenas,
Aut velut sensus per opaca ludens
Noctis imago.
- 3 Psalm XC, 21-24: Jako rossy trawa syta
Z poranku pięknie zakwita,
Wieczór kosą podsieczona
Leży na ziemi wzgardzona:
- Buchanan, 25-28: Herba ceu verno saturata rore
Mane, mox languet medio sub æstu,
Mox humi comis iacet arefactis
Vespere sero.
- 4 Psalm XC, 29-30: Przeto dla swych nieprawości
Lekając się Twey srogości,
- Buchanan, 37-38: Dum tui pœnas meritas furoris
Mens reformidat, [...]

³³ While it is not certain that Kochanowski derived his rendering from Buchanan's version, which differs significantly from the biblical text, the fact that he adds in a reference to the heavens and refers to God as being without end rather than existing "a seculo & vsque in seculum", suggests that he did make use of the Scot's translation.

³⁴ The comparison between their life and water draining away into the ground (line 17), the reference to the night (line 20), and the use of the first person plural pronoun (line 19) all suggest that Kochanowski has made use of Buchanan's translation in these lines. This influence is particularly clear since neither of the two references cited above has an equivalent in the biblical text.

- 5 Psalm XC, 49-52: Nasyć nas owocem swego
Miłosierdzia obfitego:
A my do swego żywota,
Nie uznamy już kłopotu.³⁵
- Buchanan, 61-64: Fac tuæ fructu bonitatis aucti,
Gaudio tandem satiemur: ægris
Liberi vt curis reliquos agamus
Suauiter annos.
- 6 Psalm XCI, 13-14: Stąd wedla ciebie tysiąc głów poleże,
Stąd drugi tysiąc: [...]³⁶
- Buchanan, 21-22: Interque strages mille cadauerum,
Dextra, sinistra, mille cadauerum
- 7 Psalm XCI, 36: I lat szedziwych, i mej życzliwości.³⁷
- Buchanan, 49-52: Faxo virenti robore transigat
Seræ senectæ tempora suauiter:
Meosque monstrabo beare
Qua soleam ratione amicos.
- 8 Psalm XCII, 1-8: Słuszna rzecz, Panie, Tobie chwałę dawać,
I Twoje święte imię wyznawać.
Dzieńli po niebie światło swe rozleje,
Nocli świat płaszczem czarnym odzieje:
Dzień mię usłyszysz litość wyznawając,
Noc prawdę Twoję opowiadając:
Nie tylko słowa, ale i gęslami,
Ale i lutnią, i skrzypicami.
- Buchanan, 1-8: Te prædicare, laudibus te prosequi,
Rex alme cælitum, deceť.
Seu sol eoa luce terras purpuret,
Seu nox tenebris obruat,
Lux prædicantem me tuam clementiam,
Nox audiet constantiam:
Nec voce tantum, sed canora barbitō,
Sed cymbalo, sed nablio.

³⁵ While Kochanowski has clearly derived "owocem" from Buchanan's translation, the origin of line 52 is less certain. However, the reference to cares ("kłopot") suggests that this line is a free translation of the Scot's rendering.

³⁶ While Kochanowski's rendering differs somewhat from Buchanan's in these lines, the fact that he refers to one thousand men falling both on the left and on the right, rather than one thousand on one side and ten thousand on the other as in the biblical text, indicates that he probably used the Scot's translation here.

³⁷ Although this line does not tally exactly with Buchanan's translation, nonetheless, the references to hoary old age and to God's friendship do suggest that Kochanowski derived his rendering from here.

- 9 Psalm XCII, 17-23: Ty wszystkie wieki przetrwasz, moŝny Panie,
 Twych nieprzyjaciół szczerę nie zostanie:
 Zniszczę wszyscy, którzy lubią złości.
 A Ty moc moją, z swojej życzności,
 Wyniesiesz, jako róg jednorożcowy:
 Członki mi przejął sok balsamowy.
 I ujrzę upad nieprzyjaciół swoich,³⁸
- Buchanan, 21-30: Tu semper idem permanes, nec sentiens
 Rerum vices nec temporum:
 Sceleris amicos ac tuos hostes premet
 Ruina ineuitabilis.
 At me fouebis patria indulgentia,
 Crudo vigentem robore:
 Et rore mitis balsami vultum imbues
 Roseo iuuentæ lumine.
 Oculis malignis qui tuentur me hostium
 Pascam ruinis lumina.
- 10 Psalm XCII, 30-32: A to, żeby w swej sprawiedliwości
Pan, twirdza moja, był opowiadany,
 Który nie nosi żadnej przygany.
- Buchanan, 43-46: Vt nota cunctis gentibus sit æquitas
Domini potentis: qui meæ
Arx est salutis vna, qui nunquam malæ
 Affinis est iniuriæ.
- 11 Psalm XCIII, 9-10: Niech huczą rzeki, niechaj głoŝne wały
 Swym gęstym szykiem uderzają w skały:³⁹
- Buchanan, 7-8: Flumina præcipites voluant quum murmure fluctus,
 Et æquor vndis gaudis minacibus,
- 12 Psalm XCIV, 1-2: Boŝe, któremu pomsta należy sprawnie,
Okaŝ wszytkiemu ŝwiatu władzã swã jawnie.
- Buchanan, 1-2: O Fraudis vltor, sceleris o vindex Deus,
Ostende numen impios contra tuum.

³⁸ While the biblical text refers to the fate which befalls those who do evil, the fact that Kochanowski refers to those who like iniquity suggests that he has made use of Buchanan's translation. As for line 20, it is possible that the references to the Psalmist's strength and God's favour towards him derive from Buchanan's translation, although the details set out in line 21 agree with the biblical text.

³⁹ While Kochanowski's use of the optative mood rather than the past tense, and his reference to the rivers making a noise suggest the influence of Buchanan's translation, I can find no precedent for his rendering in the second hemistich of line 9 and in line 10. This poetic image appears to be of his own invention.

- 13 Psalm XCIV, 37-39: Spólnego nic przewrotni z Tobą nie mają,
Którzy prawem Tyraństwo swe nakrywają:
Którzy przeciw cnotliwym praktykują.⁴⁰
- Buchanan, 45-48: Mecum loquebar, Quod scelestis cum Deo
Commune? scelera legis vmbra qui sua
Tegunt, bonorum fraudulenta qui in caput
Concilia coeunt: [...]
- 14 Psalm XCIV, 41-42: Panie, Tyś moja skała, Tyś mój obronca,
Ty mię strzedz, jakoś począł, będziesz do końca.⁴¹
- Buchanan, 50-51: At rector orbis me tuebitur, meæ
Custos salutis, [...]
- 15 Psalm XCV, 1-6: Póđźmy z ochotą, Panu chwałę dajmy,
I Jego łaskę wieczną wyznawajmy,
Stawmy się przed Nim: zbawcą wszech trudności,
Szafarzem zdrowia, i trwałych radości:
Śpieszmy się k Niemu, śpieszmy się z dziękami,
I z wdzięcznym luteń dźwiękiem, i z pieśniami.⁴²
- Buchanan, 1-4: Eia alacres cuncti Domini celebremus honores:
Salute parta Domino agamus gratias.
Eia alacres rapiamus iter, mora segnis abesto:
Dominum canora personemus barbitō.
- 16 Psalm XCV, 13: Póđźmy [ś]ciagnawszy ręce swe do Pana,
- Buchanan, 11: Eia igitur, genibus flexis manibusque supinis,
- 17 Psalm XCV, 23-24: Słuchać nie chcieli: ale doświadczali
Możności mojej: a też jej doznali.
- Buchanan, 21-22: Quum proavi vestri me explorauere, meamque
Didicere factis plurimis potentiam.

⁴⁰ Although we find an equivalent for "Spólnego" in Campensis' translation ("Nunquid commune tibi quicquam cum solio & potestate tyranni qui struit calumniam insontibus, idque suo more, & tanta calliditate vt legitime illud facere videatur?"), it is apparent that Kochanowski has produced a free translation of Buchanan's rendering in lines 37 and 39.

⁴¹ While Campensis also refers to God as the Psalmist's protector, and renders the verb in the future tense ("Verum dominus erit meus protector, & deus meus instar munitæ arcis, [...]"), the fact that Kochanowski refers to God as both defender and guard indicates that he has based his rendering on Buchanan's translation, although he has reversed the order in which the references occur.

⁴² It is not certain whether the reference to thanksgiving in line 5 derived from the Vulgate text ("Præoccupemus faciem eius in confessione") or from Buchanan's translation of verse 1 (line 2: "Salute parta Domino agamus gratias"). However, it is likely given the phrase "z ochotą" in line 1 and the reference to the lute in line 6, both of which suggest the influence of Buchanan, that Kochanowski based his rendering in these lines on Buchanan's text rather than on the Vulgate.

- 18 Psalm XCVI, 13-14: Pan to bowiem władze wielkiej,
Pan to chwały wysszy wszelkiej.⁴³
- Buchanan, 13-14: Nanque vnus est vere Deus,
Cunctisque maior laudibus,
- 19 Psalm XCVI, 19-20: Ale Pan niebo z gwiazdami,
Własnymi stworzył rekami.
- Buchanan, 19-20: Dominus potenti dextera
Cælum solumque condidit.
- 20 Psalm XCVI, 25-28: Przyznajcie, o ziemskie kraje,
Przyznajcie wszytki rodzaje,
Władzą, i możność wiecznemu
Jednowłajcy niebieskiemu.⁴⁴
- Buchanan, 25-28: Tribuite Dominum gentium
Terras colentum sæcula,
Tribuite regi cælitum
Et robur & potentiam:
- 21 Psalm XCVII, 13-16: Jasne niebieskie domy
Roświeciły się gromy
Ognistemi: ujźrzała
Ziemia, i strachy drżała.⁴⁵
- Buchanan, 11-12: Fulguribusque micat late flagrantibus æther:
Attonita tellus intremiscit: [...]
- 22 Psalm XCVII, 17-19: Wysokie górne skały
Tak jako wosk tajały,
Od oblicza Pańskiego,⁴⁶
- Buchanan, 12-14: [...] montium
Saxa fluunt, rapido ceu cera liquescit ab igne,
A sempiterni pauida vultu numinis.

⁴³ This line might equally derive from Campensis' translation ("Magnus est enim dominus, & omni laude maior: [...]").

⁴⁴ While the imperatives might equally derive from Campensis' translation ("Quare tribuite Domino quotquot estis familiæ populoum: tribuite inquam domino maiestatem & omnipotentiam"), the fact that Kochanowski refers to God as an autocrat suggests that these lines are a free translation of Buchanan's version, where God is termed "rex cælitum". This influence is further suggested by the fact that the Psalmist in Kochanowski's rendering addresses all the Israelites, young and old (cf. "wszytki rodzaje"; "sæcula").

⁴⁵ Although Kochanowski's reference to "niebieskie domy" differs somewhat from Buchanan's rendering, nonetheless, the fact that both poets refer to the sky rather than to the earth indicates that Kochanowski based his rendering on the Scot's version. While the reference to fear in line 12 might equally derive from Campensis' rendering ("[...] & expauit præ fulgurum multitudine ipsa terra"), the fact that Kochanowski does not use Campensis elsewhere in this Psalm suggests that he probably based his rendering here too on Buchanan's version.

⁴⁶ Although Kochanowski adheres more closely to the biblical text than does Buchanan, it is unlikely to be a coincidence that both poets refer to the rocks of the mountains rather than the mountains themselves.

- 23 Psalm XCVII, 27-28: A chłubią sie szaleni
Bogi swemi z kamieni.⁴⁷
- Buchanan, 19-20: Illis ora pudor turpis confundat, inanes
Quicunque mentis stipites pro diis colunt.
- 24 Psalm XCVII, 29-30: Wszyscy, jako was zowie
Ten głupi świat, bogowie,⁴⁸
- Buchanan, 23-24: Quicquid vbique Dei sub nomine credulus error
Honorat, [...]
- 25 Psalm XCVII, 49-50: Pan strzeże sprawiedliwych,
I broni od złośliwych:
- Buchanan, 35-36: Nam Domino cordi est pietas, vitamque bonorum
A vi tuetur impiæ tyrannidis.
- 26 Psalm XCVII, 55: Znać wesółemi rymy
- Buchanan, 41: [...] gratoque Deum super æthera cantu
- 27 Psalm XCVIII, 5-6: Ręką swą tylko sprawił,
Że nas z niewólstwa wybawił:
- Buchanan, 5-8: Sua ipse solus dextera,
Externæ opis nihil indigus,
Nos liberando, posteris
Miranda gessit sæculis.
- 28 Psalm XCVIII, 9-12: Okazał, co może bojem,
Wojując za ludem swoim:
Dał znać, jako sprawiedliwym,
Mszcząc się złych spraw na złośliwym.
- Buchanan, 9-12: Sensere gentes impiæ
Bello Dei potentiam:
Pœnas luendo, iudicem
Sensere iustum & vindicem.

⁴⁷ Although Kochanowski refers to these gods as being carved out of stone rather than wood, as in Buchanan's translation, the fact that he refers to them as being devoid of sense suggests that he made use of the Scot's version.

⁴⁸ This reference to man's stupidity might equally derive from Campensis' translation ("[...] qui pro diis hominum stulticia habemini"). Indeed, "hominum stulticia" is rather closer to "głupi świat" than is "credulus error". However, Kochanowski's rendering in line 29 is closer to Buchanan's version than to Campensis'.

- 29 Psalm XCVIII, 13-14: Zyścił się w słowie zacnemu
Domowi Izrahelskiemu.⁴⁹
- Buchanan, 13-14: Promissa soluit optima
Fide Isaci nepotibus,
- 30 Psalm XCIX, 1: Pan króluje, który włada Anjoły lotnemi:⁵⁰
- Buchanan, 1-2: Iam regnum Dominus, spirituum piis
Qui dat iura choris, suscipit: [...]
- 31 Psalm XCIX, 7-8: [...]Tyś ludowi swemu
Prawa podał, i porządek spisał wybranemu.⁵¹
- Buchanan, 11-14: [...]qui salubri temperie modum
Scepbris constituas tuis.
Selectæ soboli qui populi tui
Ius nullis dederis mobile sæculis:
- 32 Psalm XCIX, 11: Temu Mojzes, i Aaron ofiary palili,⁵²
- Buchanan, 21-23: Huic Moses & Aron & Samuel bonus,
Docti legitimis tingere victimis
Aras, [...]
- 33 Psalm XCIX, 16: A w przymierzu nieodmienna wiare zachowali.
- Buchanan, 27-28: Legum quod monitus pactaque foedera
Seruassent stabili fide.

⁴⁹ While the reference to the house of Israel derives from the biblical text, the fact that Kochanowski refers to God keeping His word rather than being mindful of His mercy (cf. Calvin: "Recordatus est bonitatis suæ & veritatis erga domum Israel"; Vulgate: "Recordatus est misericordiæ, et veritatis suæ domui Israel") indicates that he derived this reference from Buchanan's translation.

⁵⁰ Kochanowski has departed from the biblical text, which makes no reference here to God ruling the heavenly hosts, although it does refer to angels (cf. Calvin: "Iehoua regnat, contremiscant populi: habitans inter Cherubim"; Vulgate: "Dominus regnauit, irascantur populi, qui sedet super Cherubim"). It seems likely that Kochanowski based his rendering on Buchanan's version, for I have no doubt that the Scot means angels by the figure "spirituum piis [...]choris".

⁵¹ There is little doubt that Kochanowski made use of Buchanan's rendering in these lines, for the reference to order has no equivalent in the biblical text. It should be noted, however, that Kochanowski has changed the order in which the details occur, and that his version is more concise than the Scot's.

⁵² Although Kochanowski speaks of Moses and Aaron burning sacrifices rather than slaughtering animals at God's altar, there is little doubt that he has based this reference on Buchanan's translation, for the biblical text makes no mention of sacrifices.

- 34 Psalm C, 6-8: On sprawuje w nas, a pewnie nie my.
Mychmy Jego nędzne sa stworzenie,
I z rak Jego mamy pożywienie.⁵³
- Buchanan, 13-14: Qui leui de puluere
Alit creatos & regit.
- 35 Psalm C, 9: Wnidźcie w kościół, nieście dzięki Panu,⁵⁴
- Buchanan, 15-17: Ad fores ergo illius
Adite læti: gratias
Agite: [...]
- 36 Psalm C, 11-12: Wdzięczny to Pan: miłosierdzia miary
Nie masz Jego, nie masz końca wiary.⁵⁵
- Buchanan, 22-26: Et in suos clementia,
Clausa nullo est termino:
Et firma stat pactis fides
Posterorum posteris
In sempiterna sæcula.
- 37 Psalm CI, 3-4: Ciebie dobrego nad dobreimi,
A surowego nad grzesznemi.⁵⁶
- Buchanan, 1-4: Te salus rerum cano, qui precanti
Lenis irarum es, facilisque flecti,
Impiorum idem tetricus rebelles
Frangere fastus.
- 38 Psalm CI, 17-18: Z hardym nie wytrwam, ani z temi,
Którzy brakuja podlejszemi.
- Buchanan, 25-28: Nec meæ mensæ dapibus fruetur
Mentis elatæ tumor, arrogansque
Vultus, & cunctos veluti minores
Lumine spernens.

⁵³ The reference to the people being fed might equally derive from Campensis' version ("[...] quem ipse pascit assidue"). However, the references to God directing His people (line 6) and to the people being a base creation (line 7) rather than sheep (cf. Calvin: "[...] populus, & grex pascuorum eius"; Vulgate: "Populus eius & oues pascuæ eius") indicate that these lines are a free translation of Buchanan's rendering.

⁵⁴ There is a similar reference to thanksgiving in Campensis' translation ("Intrate per portas illius gratias acturi pro acceptis ab eo innumeris beneficiis, [...]"), from which this line might equally derive.

⁵⁵ While it is possible that Kochanowski derived the reference God's limitless mercy from Campensis' translation ("Benignus est enim dominus, & infinitæ misericordiæ") and to faith from Estienne's note ("Veritas eius. fides eius"), the fact that his version contains both these details suggests that he probably based his rendering on Buchanan's translation.

⁵⁶ Kochanowski's rendering in lines 3-4 differs from all other translations (cf. Calvin: "Clementiam & iudicium cantabo, tibi Iehouæ psallam"; Vulgate: "Misericordiam & iudicium cantabo tibi domine"). However, the sum of what is said in these lines agrees with Buchanan's rendering, and it is probable that they are a free translation of the Scot's version.

- 39 Psalm CII, 9-10: Jako dym, tak lata moje uleciały,
Kości, jako głównia, moje wygorzały.
- Buchanan, 9-10: Ceu fumi nebulae tempora transuolant,
Vt lentis coquitur torris ab ignibus,
- 40 Psalm CII, 11-12: Na chleb nie pomyśle: a też serce moje
Uschło, jako trawa w srogie letne znoje.⁵⁷
- Buchanan, 13-16: Dum luctu crucio me dapis immemor,
Vt secta e viridi gramina cespite
Arescunt nimio torrida sole, cor
Exuccum mihi tabuit.
- 41 Psalm CII, 26-27: [...] wiek mój nieszczęśliwy
Chynał sie ku nocy, jako cień wieczorny.⁵⁸
- Buchanan, 33-35: Vt sero in tenebras vmbra crepusculo
Vanescit, celeres deproperant dies
In mortem, [...]
- 42 Psalm CII, 33-34: Już ku rumom jego serce obrócili
Słudzy Twoi, już sie pustyń użalili.⁵⁹
- Buchanan, 45-48: Iam serui lapides respiciunt tui
Disiectos faciles, sparsaque rudera,
Incultique soli iam miserabilem
Versa mente dolent vicem.
- 43 Psalm CIII, 12: I sędzia sprawiedliwy wszech ukrzywdzonych.
- Buchanan, 17: Integer iudex, [...]
- 44 Psalm CIII, 31-32: Podobien kwiatu, który, gdy sie rozwinął
Nalepiej, dusznym wiatrem zmorzony zginął.
- Buchanan, 45-48: Instar aut floris Tyrio comantis
Murice, vt vultu modice sereno
Risit, afflatu tepidi repente
Concidit austri.

⁵⁷ While the substance of what is said in these lines agrees better in places with the biblical text than with Buchanan's translation (e.g. line 11: "chleb"; cf. Calvin & Vulgate "panem"; Buchanan "dapis"), the fact that Kochanowski has reversed the order in which the references to bread and to the heart occur suggests the influence of Buchanan's rendering.

⁵⁸ The reference to twilight might also derive from Calvin's commentary ("Scimus, dum sol capitibus nostris imminet, in ipso scilicet meridie, non perspicit tam subitas mutationes vmbrarum; sed vbi vergere ad occasum incipit, singulis fere momentis variant vmbræ"). However, the fact that Kochanowski refers not only to twilight but also to it giving way to night suggests that he based his rendering on Buchanan's translation, in which twilight is said to give way to darkness.

⁵⁹ There is little doubt that Kochanowski derived the reference to the wildernesses or uncultivated lands from Buchanan's translation, for the Hebrew text refers to dust or rubble (cf. Calvin: "[...] & pulueris eius miserebuntur"; Campensis: "[...] & quantumuis misera sit facies, pie tamen erga rudera eius affecti succurrere cupiunt"). It is, however, possible that Kochanowski based his rendering on the Vulgate text, which refers to the earth of Jerusalem, although it does not state specifically that it had been made barren ("[...] & terræ eius miserebuntur").

- 45 Psalm CIV, 19-20: Ty w skałę ukazujesz drogę zdrojom nowym,
Które posiłek niosą rzekom kryształowym.
- Buchanan, 22-23: Tum liquidi fontes imis de collibus augent
Flumina, per virides vndas voluentia campos,
- 46 Psalm CIV, 21-24: Tu sie wszelki zwierz chłodzi, który w polu żyje,
Tu łoś mieszkaniec leśny upagniony pije.
Tamże ptacy mieszkają, a w krzakach zielonych
Nie przestają powtarzać pieśni ulubionych.⁶⁰
- Buchanan, 24-28: Vnde sitim sedent pecudes quæ pinguis tondent
Pascua, quique feris onager saxa inuis syluis
Incolit. hic leuibus quæ tramant æra pennis
Per virides passim ramos sua tecta volucres
Concelebrant, mulcentque vagis loca sol querelis.
- 47 Psalm CIV, 25-26: Ty z pałaców swych świętych, Ojcie uwielbiony,
Spuszczasz na niską ziemię deszcz nieprzepłacony.⁶¹
- Buchanan, 29-30: Tu pater ærios montes camposque iacentes
Nectare celesti saturas, [...]
- 48 Psalm CIV, 33: Taż wilgotność i lasy żywi niezmierzone,⁶²
- Buchanan, 37-38: Nec minus arboribus succi genitabilis humor
Sufficitur. [...]
- 49 Psalm CIV, 37-39: Tyś na znak czasów sprawił błędną twarz miesięczną,
Ty niepoścignionego słońca lampę wdzięczną
Prowadzisz do zachodu: [...]
- Buchanan, 43-45: Tu lunæ incertos vultus per tempora certa
Circumagis: puroque accensum lumine solem
Ducis ad occiduas constanti tramite metas:
- 50 Psalm CIV, 50: Tam swe igrzyska srodzy wielorybi maja.⁶³
- Buchanan, 62-63: [...] grandia cete
Effingunt molles vitreo sub marmore lusus.

60 While Kochanowski's rendering in lines 23-24 does not agree with Buchanan's in every respect, the references to green bushes and to singing suggest that he made use of the Scot's version. It should be noted, however, that the reference to singing might result instead from Campensis' translation of the Hebrew text (cf. Calvin: "[...] e medio ramorum dabunt vocem"; Campensis: "[...] ex mediis arborum ramis cantillabunt"; Vulgate: "[...] de medio petrarum dabunt vocem").

61 There is little doubt that Kochanowski's use of apostrophe and the reference to the low-lying earth are based on Buchanan's rendering (cf. Calvin: "Irrigans montes e cœnaculis suis"; Vulgate: "Rigans montes de superioribus suis").

62 This reference might equally derive from Campensis' translation ("Humoris summa copia supeditabitur arboribus maximis: [...]").

63 The reference to whales might equally derive from Campensis' translation ("[...] & ipsi ceto eas vires tribuisti, vt ridere audeat, & contemnere reliqua, quæ degunt in mari omnia"), although the fact that Kochanowski retains the reference to play present in the biblical text (cf. Calvin: "[...] Leuiathan quam formasti vt ludat in eo"; Vulgate: "Draco iste quem formasti ad illudendum ei, [...]"). suggests that he probably based his rendering on Buchanan's version.

- 51 Psalm CIV, 51: Wszytko to, co jest w morzu, wszystko co na ziemi,
 Buchanan, 64-65: Atque adeo quæ terra aruis, quæ fluctibus æquor
 Educat,[....]
- 52 Psalm CV, 5: Inszej chłuby nad Jego imię nie macie,
 Buchanan, 7-8: Nomen eius, numen eius,
Vna nobis gloria.
- 53 Psalm CV, 30-31: [...] posła przed niemi
Do Aegyptu wyprawił: [...]
 Buchanan, 57-58: Præuium misit ministrum
Nili ad arua fertilis.
- 54 Psalm CV, 37-38: Duch Pański go wyświadczył, że w nim okazał
Dar taki, za którym król puścić go kazał.⁶⁴
 Buchanan, 63-66: Somni donec soluti
 Nota regi veritas
 Crura ferro liberauit,
Soluit animam crimine:
- 55 Psalm CV, 41-42: [...] a radzie mędrszy doradzał.
 Buchanan, 75-76: Et senum iuuenis seueræ
Præsidet prudentiæ.
- 56 Psalm CV, 43-44: Zatym pożegnawszy się z krajem ojczystym
 Syn Izaków nad Nilem siadł przeźrzoczystym:⁶⁵
 Buchanan, 77-80: Isaci tandem propago
Arua linquens patria,
 Pinguis ad fluenta Nili
 Castra finxit aduena.
- 57 Psalm CV, 47-48: [...] stąd Tyran srogi,
Niszczyć je, [...]⁶⁶
 Buchanan, 85-88: Tum Phari rector superbæ
 Mente versa Abramidas
 Fraude molitus nefanda
 Stirpitus reuellere:

⁶⁴ It is probable that the references to Joseph's ability to interpret dreams — for it is to this that Kochanowski is alluding in the word "Dar" — and to the refutation of the charges levelled against him derive from Buchanan's translation, although Kochanowski's manner of expression differs significantly from that of the Scot.

⁶⁵ Kochanowski's manner of expression in these lines appears to owe something to Buchanan's translation, although he adheres more closely to the biblical text than does the Scot, retaining the reference to an individual, Jacob, rather than a tribe.

⁶⁶ The references to Pharaoh (for here, as elsewhere, Kochanowski uses the title of "tyran" to denote Pharaoh") and to his intention to destroy the Israelites, which do not occur in the biblical text, indicate the influence of Buchanan's rendering.

- 58 Psalm CV, 49-52: Aż Mojzesza, z Aronem Pan, swe postańce,
Za czasem zesłał między hardy pohańce.
 Którzy mocą słów Pańskich cuda czynili,
Króla strachu, i jego dwór nakarmili.
- Buchanan, 89-94: Circulo donec voluto
Destinati temporis,
 Legifer cum fratre Moses
 Missus est diuinitus,
 Ac Pharon Pharique regem
Terruit miraculis.
- 59 Psalm CV, 55-56: Krwią zdroje, krwią płynęły rzeki szarłatne,
 Miecąc po brzegach zdechłe ryby niepłatne.
- Buchanan, 101-104: Vnda decolor cruoruis
 Tabe riuos polluit,
Squameæque strage turbæ
 Inquinauit littora.
- 60 Psalm CV, 59-60: Potym wojska much spadły nieprzeliczone,
 A wszy stady latały niewygubione.
- Buchanan, 111-114: Musca deinde nube densa
 Fusa Memphin occultit:
Cyniphon cruenta passim
Obuolabant agmina.
- 61 Psalm CV, 65-66: Przyszła szarańca, przyszedł chrząszcz wielonogi,
 Zboże wyjadł, co był grad ominał srogi.
- Buchanan, 119-120: Quod reliquit atra grando,
 Mox locusta perdidit:
- 62 Psalm CV, 69-70: Dopiro cudzym złotem ubogaceni
 Bez wszelaki[e]j trudności są wypuszczeni.⁶⁷
- Buchanan, 135-138: Sancta Memphin gens reliquit,
 Iam tyranno libera,
Diues auro argenticque
 Barbarorum poculis.
- 63 Psalm CV, 77-78: Tym gwoli wodę łąły twarde krzemienie,
 A po suchych pustyniach ciekły strumienie.
- Buchanan, 157-160: Petra iussa fudit vndas:
 Deque rupis viscere,
 Ante sicca solitudo
 Flumen hausit.

⁶⁷ While Kochanowski's rendering does not differ significantly from the biblical text, the fact that he refers to the Israelites being released rather than to Moses leading them out of Egypt suggests that he made use of Buchanan's translation.

- 64 Psalm CVI, 3-4: Kto tak w słowa bogaty? kto tak jest wymowny?
Aby w powieści dziejom Jego mógł być równy?
- Buchanan, 3-4: Quis facta verbis æquet? eloquentia
Quis assequetur illius potentiam?
- 65 Psalm CVI, 15-16: [...] bo wnet nad morzem czerwonym,
Szemrali niepotrzebnie przeciw przełożonym.
- Buchanan, 20-22: Sed propter æquoris rubri, duces
Aduersus animis turba contumacibus
Obmurmuravit. [...]
- 66 Psalm CVI, 20-22: [...] a oni gościńcem gotowym
Miedzy dwa wodne mury stony bród przebyli,
Tak jakoby po suszy najlepszej chodzili.⁶⁸
- Buchanan, 25-28: Nam comminanti cessit vnda fluctuum:
Suspensa moles hinc & inde per sali
Tranquilli arenas aridam dedit viam,
Ceu solida campis figerent vestigia:
- 67 Psalm CVI, 25-26: Wracając się na miejsce swe morze zalało,
Tam iż ani pośłańca z kleski nie zostało.
- Buchanan, 31-33: [...] at hostes vorticoso gurgite
Absorpsit vnda, cladis vt nec nuntius
Superesset. [...]
- 68 Psalm CVI, 27-28: Ci też dopiero słowom Pańskim uwierzyli,
I moc Jego w pieśniach swych do nieba wznosili.⁶⁹
- Buchanan, 33-35: [...] Illic tum salutis compotes
Fidemque verbis præbuere, & cantibus
Cecinere festis numinis potentiam.
- 69 Psalm CVI, 47-48: Który nieujeżdżone w poły przeciął morze:
Jedny przewiodł, a drugie zalał w tymże torze.⁷⁰
- Buchanan, 58-59: Et fluctu eodem sospites se, subrutos
Hostes superbos vorticosis æstibus.

68 While Kochanowski's manner of expression differs from Buchanan's, nonetheless, there are clear similarities between the two versions. The reference to walls of water has no equivalent in the biblical text and, though it is not certain that this was influenced by Buchanan's reference to the water being banked up and a path created through the middle, it is at least possible.

69 While "dopiero" might equally derive from the translations of Campensis or Pagninus (cf. Campensis: "Tunc quidem credebant verbis illius & cantabant laudes illius"; Pagninus: "Tunc crediderunt verbis eius, cantauerunt laudem eius"), the reference to God's might clearly derives from Buchanan's translation. It is my opinion that "dopiero" also derives from Buchanan's translation, for the implication is that only once they were safe did the Israelites trust God's former promises.

70 Lines 47-48 have no equivalent in the biblical text (cf. Calvin: "terribilia ad mare Rubrum"; Vulgate: "terribilia in mari Rubro"). Kochanowski's rendering in line 48 reveals the influence of Buchanan's translation, although it differs from the latter in its manner of expression.

- 70 Psalm CVI, 49-52: Więc też Pan, sprawiedliwym gniewiem poruszony,
Chciał je koniecznie zgubić: by był z drugiej strony
 Mojżesz, wybrany Pański, nie prosił za niemi,
A gniewu nie hamował modlitwami swemi.⁷¹
- Buchanan, 60-63: Ergo scelestos ira iusta perdere
Ibat, furenti ni Deo charum caput
 Pro gente Moses obtulisset, & prece
Frænasset iras. [...]
- 71 Psalm CVI, 53: Nawet i krajem onym pożadnym wzgardzili,⁷²
- Buchanan, 64-65: [...] expetitur tamdiu
 Vber feracis spreuit agri: [...]
- 72 Psalm CVI, 57-58: A Pan rękę swą podniósł, że tamże w piaszczystych
 Pustyniach polec mieli, i w górach skalistych.
- Buchanan, 69-70: Delere promptus inter inuia montium
 Totius rebelles, extulit dextram, [...]
- 73 Psalm CVI, 65-68: Nie cierpiał krzywdy Bożej Phineas cnotliwy,
 Ale mieczem złe karą: tymże Pański mściwy
 Gniew uśmierzył: a sobie, i potomstwu swemu,
Zjednął cześć nie podległą wiekowi żadnemu.
- Buchanan, 77-80: Iusta incitatus donec ira Phineas
Ferro scelestam puniit licentiam,
 Et sæuientem dexteram compescuit
 Domini, sibi peperit æternum decus,
- 74 Psalm CVI, 89-90: Co ich Pan poratował, znowu na kiel wzięli,
Znowu też, co raz głębiej, w złościach swych tonęli.⁷³
- Buchanan, 106-109: Ac liberati sæpe Domino vindice,
Rursus rebelles spiritus in vindicem
 Sumpserunt: rursus ob scelera pœnas se
 Dedere. [...]

⁷¹ While the references to God's intention to destroy the Israelites and to Moses curbing His wrath are common to all translations of the biblical text, the reference to God being moved by anger (line 49) and the reference to Moses' prayers (line 52), neither of which has an equivalent in the biblical text, indicate that Kochanowski probably based his rendering on Buchanan's translation.

⁷² While Kochanowski's rendering in this line does not differ substantially from the biblical text, the fact that he refers to Canaan as "pożadnym" (desired) rather than "desirabilem" (desirable), suggests that he made use of Buchanan's translation.

⁷³ Campensis also mentions that this did not only happen once but was a frequent occurrence ("Sæpissime numero liberavit eos: verum ipsi semper sibi similes perrexerunt esse rebelles & sua potius quam diuina consilia sequi: [...]"). However, the fact that Kochanowski refers to backsliding rather than to a continuation of their wrongdoing suggests that he probably based his rendering on Buchanan's translation.

75 Psalm CVI, 95-96:

I zmiekczył ludzkie serca, że ich litowali
I ci sami, u których w niewoli mieszkali.

Buchanan, 113-115:

Quin & superba corda gentis barbaræ,
Cui seruiebant diruta iam patria,
Leniuit: [...]

(b) Flaminus.

(c) Hesus.

(d) Spinula.

There is no evidence to suggest that Kochanowski made use of the translations by Flaminus, Hesus or Spinula in this book.

6.6: Book 5

I. Prose Translations.

(a) Calvin.

- 1 Psalm CVII, 23-24: A On je też nieszczęściem takowym zhołdował,
Że nie był żaden, ktoby ratował.
- Calvin, v. 12: Et humiliavit molestia cor ipsorum: afflicti sunt, &
nemo adiutor.
- Vulgate CVI, v. 12: Et humiliatum est in laboribus cor eorum, infirmati
sunt, nec fuit qui adiuuaret.
- 2 Psalm CXIX, 127: Który u mnie droższy peret, i świętego złota,
- Calvin, v. 127: Propterea dilexi statuta tua præ auro & auro obrizo
[vel, margaritis].
- Vulgate CXVIII, v. 127: Ideo dilexi mandata tua, super aurum & topazion.

(b) Campensis.

- 1 Psalm CVII, 50-51: Alić już morze skacze gniewliwe.
A nawę to do nieba wetny wymiatają,
- Campensis, vv. 25-26: [...] & extollit fluctus illos maris vastissimi.
Quibus subleuati vectores vna cum nauibus ascendere
in cælum videntur, [...]
- 2 Psalm CVII, 59-60: Stanał wiatr, morze spadło, żeglarze ożyli,
Nawę do portu zdrową przybili.¹
- Campensis, vv. 29-30: Continuo cessabit tempestas: sequetur serenitas, &
subsident fluctus illi maris.
Et merito gaudebunt quod subsederint, deducet vero
eos Dominus recta in eam regionem, quam ipsi nauibus
petebant.
- 3 Psalm CVIII, 4: Ruszwa różanej zarze z jej pokoja.
- Campensis, v. 2: [...] vt excitem ipsam auroram.

¹ While Kochanowski has clearly derived some of the details from the Vulgate text, as can be seen from the reference to a port, several of the details present in these lines appear to derive from Campensis' translation.

- 4 Psalm CVIII, 5-6: Ciebie, Panie, po wszystkim świecie, przed wszystkimi Narody opowiadać będę rymy swemi.²
- Campensis, v. 3: Celebrabo te carminibus apud populos varios domine, & psalmis cantabo te, vt fama nominis tui in varias spargatur nationes.
- 5 Psalm CVIII, 10-11: Podnieś sie wysszej nieba, a światu wszystkiemu Okaż wielmożność swoje: [...]
- Campensis, v. 5: Exaltare super cælos deus, & appareat per vniuersam terram maiestas tua.
- 6 Psalm CVIII, 13: Mówił Pan w przybytku swym, a mnie uweselił:
- Campensis, v. 7: Deus promissit per sanctitatem sua, quæ res me maximo gaudio affecit, [...]
- 7 Psalm CIX, 15-16: U sądu niechaj będzie krzyw należony, A jegoż niech mu bardziej szkodzi obrony.³
- Campensis, v. 7: Quum causa illius tractata fuerit in iudicio: non abeat illinc nisi impietatis condemnatus, & precatio illius magis exasperet iudicem, & augeat peccatum potius, quam remissionem impetret.
- 8 Psalm CIX, 21-22: Synowie dom od domu chleba niech proszą, A przed niedzą z ojcowskich pustek sie noszą.
- Campensis, v. 10: [...] & præ penuria rei familiaris, relictis domibus suis vacuis, cibum quærere cogantur mendicato.
- 9 Psalm CIX, 51-52: A jam człowiek upadły, człowiek wzgardzony, I na sercu nieżnośnym żalem strapiony.
- Campensis, v. 22: Quia pauper & humano præsidio destitutus ego sum, & cor meum præ moerore languet intra me.
- 10 Psalm CIX, 71-72: Który czasu potrzeby stał przy ubogim, I bronił go przeciwko Tyrannom srogim.
- Campensis, v. 31: Astitit enim ad dexteram egeno, vt defenderet & seruaret illum a violentia eorum, qui falso iudicio perdere conabantur illum.

² While line 5 is a free translation of the biblical text, the reference to songs in line 6 suggests that Kochanowski based his rendering on Campensis' version.

³ While line 15 might equally be a free translation of Buchanan's translation (lines 17-18: "Quum volet iratos animos inflectere fando, / Oratione iudices exasperet"), Calvin's commentary ("Duo igitur membra sunt, vt palam fiunt impiorum scelera, ne reliquus sit absolute locus: deinde omnis deprecatio repudietur"), or Estienne's notes ("In peccatum. Id est, reddatillum iudici magis odiosum"), the reference to court or judgment in line 15 suggests that Kochanowski made use of Campensis' translation in these lines.

- 11 Psalm CXI, 20-21: I tym swój wieczny testament zostawił.
Pan imię niesie wielce świętobliwie,
Campensis, v. 9: [...] decreuit perpetuo duraturum pactum, quod iniit
cum suis, iis cuius nomen sanctissimum est &
augustissimum.
- 12 Psalm CXI, 24: To do rozumu, i do sławy droga.⁴
Campensis, v. 10: [...] laudem enim assequeuntur perpetuo duraturum.
- 13 Psalm CXV, 27-28: Pan łaskę swoje rozmnoży nad wami,
I nad waszemi także dziateczkami.
Campensis, v. 14: Addet ad vetera beneficia etiam noua vobis, vobis
inquam & filiis vestris.
- 14 Psalm CXVI, 17-18: Wróć sie do wczasu swego, duszo utrapiona,
Gdyś z łaski Pańskiej oswobodzona.⁵
Campensis, v. 7: Redi o anima mea ad veterum tranquillitatem tuam,
dominus enim pro te persoluit, quicquid debebas tu.
- 15 Psalm CXVIII, 41-42: Tobie dziękam: Tyś przyjął wdzięcznie prośby moje,
Tobiem winien zdrowie swoje.⁶
Campensis, v. 21: Gratias ago tibi quod afflixeris me, & iterum salute
donaueris me.
- 16 Psalm CXVIII, 59-60: Tobie ja dzięki czynię, [...]
Campensis, v. 18: Deus meus es tu, quare cum gratiarum actione laudabo
te: [...]
- 17 Psalm CXIX, 8: Wedla tych ja żyć chcę, tylko niech pomoc Twą czuje.
Campensis, v. 8: Mandata tua obseruabo pro viribus nisi tu destitueris
me auxilio tuo.

⁴ The fact that Kochanowski understands "laus" as belonging to those that fear God rather than to God Himself suggests that he based his rendering on Campensis' translation (cf. Calvin: "[...] laus eius manet perpetuo"; Vulgate: "[...] laudatio eius manet in seculum seculi").

⁵ The reference to God freeing the Psalmist's soul appears to derive from Campensis' translation, although this does not account for the presence of the reference to His mercy. Rather, this derives either from the Vulgate text or from Estienne's note, both of which refer to God blessing, i.e. being merciful towards, the Psalmist's soul (Pagninus: "quia Iehoua benefecit tibi"; Vulgate: "quia dominus benefecit tibi").

⁶ While Kochanowski has followed a Latin translation of the biblical text other than that by Campensis in the second clause (cf. Calvin: "Celebrabo te, quia exaudisti me, & fuisti mihi in salutem"; Vulgate: "Confitebor tibi quoniam exaudisti me, & factus es mihi in salutem"), the first clause of line 41 does appear to derive from Campensis' translation.

- 18 Psalm CXIX, 30: Cnota mój cel, w który patrzę, i Twoja ustawa.⁷
Campensis, v. 30: Genus vitæ candidum & constans elegi, & æquissima iudicia tua proposui ante oculos mihi.
- 19 Psalm CXIX, 75: Sprawiedliwe sądy Twoje: słusznie mnie frasujesz,
Campensis, v. 75: Noui domine quod ipsissima æquitas sint iudicia tua, & merito afflixeris me.
- 20 Psalm CXIX, 108: Bierz ofiarę ust mych, [...] ⁸
Campensis, v. 108: Pias has oblationes oris mei gratanter quæso accipe domine, [...]
- 21 Psalm CXIX, 142: Wieczna Twoja sprawiedliwość, zakon niewzruszony.⁹
Campensis, v. 142: Iustitia tua iustitia perpetua: & lex tua stabilis.
- 22 Psalm CXIX, 161: Możni mię trapią, [...]
Campensis, v. 161: Potentes principes persecuti sunt me, [...]
- 23 Psalm CXIX, 167-168: [...] bo me
Wszystki sprawy, wszystkie myśli Tobie są wiadome.
Campensis, v. 168: [...] omnes enim viæ meæ notissimæ sunt tibi, [...]
- 24 Psalm CXIX, 172: [...] sprawiedliwe są wyroki Twoje.
Campensis, v. 172: [...] omnia enim iudicia tua sunt æquissima.
- 25 Psalm CXXI, 2-4: Oczy smutne podnoszę na wszystkie strony:
Upatrując, ktoli sie mnie użaluje,
Ktoli mnie w złą przygodzie mojej ratuje.
Campensis, v. 1: Circumferebam oculos meos veluti stans in monte,
sicunde viderem forte ferri suppetias mihi.

⁷ While I can find no precedent for Kochanowski's other changes to the biblical text in this line, the reference to the Psalmist looking at God's commandments suggests the influence of Campensis' translation.

⁸ It seems likely that this imprecation for God to accept the Psalmist's sacrifices, rather than to be pleased by them, derives from Campensis' translation (cf. Calvin: "Voluntaria oris mei tibi quæso placeant Iehoua, [...]"; Vulgate: "Voluntaria oris mei beneplacita fac domine, [...]").

⁹ It is possible that "niewzruszony" derives from Buchanan's translation (line 142: "Iussa stant sempiterna, nota nullo turbine"), although Kochanowski adheres more closely to the biblical text than does the Scot.

- 26 Psalm CXXI, 12: Nie spi stróż Izrahelski, ani sie zdrzymie.¹⁰
Campensis, v. 4: Profecto neque dormiet vnquam, neque vel leuiter obdormiscet, qui curat Israelelem.
- 27 Psalm CXXI, 15-16: Ze cię ani w dzień słońce gorace przejmie,
Ani zimno miesiąca nocnego zejmie.¹¹
Campensis, v. 6: Hoc vmbraculo fiet ne ardor interdiu lædat te, neque luna frigore suo noctu.
- 28 Psalm CXXIII, 7-8: Jako niewolnica, której głód dojmuję,
Coraz paniej swojej ręki upatruje.¹²
Campensis, v. 2: [...] & oculi ancillæ obseruant manum dominæ suæ, vt longo labore fatigati cibum accipiant.
- 29 Psalm CXXVIII, 1-4: Szczęśliwy człowiek prawdziwie,
Kto w bojaźni Pańskiej żywie:
Gotów pełnić, co On swemi
Wyrzekł usty naświętszemi.¹³
Campensis, v. 1: Felix ille quisquis timens est dei, & viuit secundum prescripta illius.
- 30 Psalm CXXIX, 8: I ciężkimi pracami.¹⁴
Campensis, v. 3: Dorso meo tantum oneris imposuerunt, vt signa in eo apparuerint qualia aratores agris imprimere solent, & veluti sulcos longos induxerint.

¹⁰ It is possible that this line owes something to Campensis' translation for, while other translations of the biblical text contrasts "dormitare" (to feel drowsy) with "dormire" (to sleep), Campensis makes a distinction between "dormire" and "leuiter obdormiscere" (to sleep lightly), to which Kochanowski's "zdrzymie się" is very similar.

¹¹ It is not certain that Kochanowski based his rendering in these lines on Campensis' translation, for the references to heat and cold are implicit in Buchanan's translation (lines 15-18: "Ne cutem solis violentioris / Vrant spicula de die, / Nocte ne lunæ nebulosioris / Artus degrauet halitus"), on which Kochanowski modelled his translation in lines 17-18.

¹² It is possible that the reference to hunger in line 7 is a free translation of Campensis' rendering, for no other translation makes any mention of the motive for the slave girl looking at her mistress' hand (cf. Calvin: "[...] sicut oculi ancillæ ad manum dominæ suæ, ita oculi nostri ad Iehouam Deum nostrum, [...]"; Vulgate: "Sicut oculi ancillæ in manibus dominæ suæ, ita oculi nostri ad dominum deum nostrum, [...]").

¹³ It is possible that these lines owe something to Campensis' translation, for he refers to the pious man's way of life and to God's commandments rather than to walking in His ways (cf. Calvin: "Beatus vir timens Iehouam, ambulans in vijs eius"; Vulgate: "Beati omnes qui timent dominum, qui ambulant in vijs eius").

¹⁴ While lines 5-6 are a free translation of the biblical text and of Buchanan, from whom the reference to lashes is derived, I can find no precedent for the reference to starvation in line 7. It is possible, however, that the reference to hard labour derives from Campensis' translation where mention is made of burdens, though he connects these with the whip-marks alluded to in the biblical text ("Dorso meo tantum oneris imposuerunt, vt signa in eo apparuerint qualia aratores agris imprimere solent, & veluti sulcos longos induxerint").

- 31 Psalm CXXX, 11-12: Co przeciw Tobie u wszech ludzi
Uczciwość wielką w sercu budzi.¹⁵
- Campensis, v. 4: [...] vt remittas misericorditer peccata nostra, & clementer erigas collapsos, sicque ad synceram venerationem tui inuites.
- 32 Psalm CXXX, 21-22: U Tego litość nieprzebrana,
U Tego pomoc nieczekana:¹⁶
- Campensis, v. 7: [...] est enim natura misericordissimus, & suapte natura ad succurrendum propensissimus.
- 33 Psalm CXXXII, 13-14: A Ty, o Panie, racz wnidź do swego pokoja,
W szczeną godzinę racz wnidź Ty, i Arka Twoja.
- Campensis, v. 8: Exurge domine & veni in eum locum, quem ad hoc elegisti tibi, vt præ cæteris peculiariter requiescas in eo: veni inquam tu, & arca per quam sæpe omnipotentia tua apparuit
- 34 Psalm CXXXII, 27: Tu ja obfitość zrodę wszelakiej żywności,¹⁷
- Campensis, v. 15: [...] cibum ad saturitatem vsque suppeditabo.
- 35 Psalm CXXXII, 33-34: Jego wszystkie ogarnie wstyd nieprzyjaciele,
A onemu korona zakwitnie na czele.
- Campensis, v. 18: Inimicos illius induam pudore & infamia: in capite autem illius fulgebit diadema.

¹⁵ Kochanowski's manner of expression in these lines differs from other translations, although the reference to uprightness in line 12 may indicate the influence of Campensis' translation.

¹⁶ These lines are a free translation of the biblical text, though I can find no precedent for the repetition in line 23 of the reference to God's mercy, or for carrying on the use of apostrophe from the previous stanza into line 24. It is possible, however, that the reference to God's help in line 22 derives from Campensis' translation (cf. Calvin: "[...] & multa apud eum redemptio"; Campensis: "[...] & suapte natura ad succurrendum propensissimus"; Vulgate: "[...] & copiosa apud eum redemptio").

¹⁷ While the fact that Kochanowski renders the verb in the first person suggests that he probably based his rendering on Campensis' translation or Estienne's note ("Escæ eius. Victui eius. Cibo eius. sub. Sionis: acsi dicat, Mittam maiorem benedictionem in frugibus ac fructibus eius, quam in aliis terris Israel, ad gloriam domus meæ, quæ est in medio eius"), the references to "obfitość" and to "wszelakiej żywności" might derive from Calvin's commentary ("Hæc vero duplex in quotidiano victu obseruanda est, quod scilicet terram fœcundat vt nobis frumentum, vinum & oleum suppeditet: [...]"). The fact that Campensis refers to a large quantity of food ("cibum ad saturitatem" rather than to a great blessing (Estienne: "maiolem benedictionem") means that his translation is the most likely source of Kochanowski's rendering in this line.

- 36 Psalm CXXXVI, 29: A Faraona zalał z wojskiem niezliczonym,¹⁸
Campensis, v. 15: Subuertit Pharaonem & exercitum illius in eodem illo mari rubro: [...]
- 37 Psalm CXXXVIII, 4-7: A to więc prze dobroć one:
I prze wrodzoną, Boże wieczny, prawdę Twoję:
Bo Ty obietnicę swoją
Skutkiem zawždy przesiężesz: [...]¹⁹
Campensis, v. 2: [...] & celebrabo nomen tuum propter benignitatem, qua vsus es erga nos: & constantiam tuam in seruandis promissis: multo nanque plura quam tu verbis tuis promisseras, præstitit nobis augustissimum illud nomen tuum.
- 38 Psalm CXL, 19-20: Ich radę chytrą i szkodliwą mowę,
Obroć na ichże niepobożną głowę:²⁰
Campensis, v. 9: Caput & ducem illorum: qui omni ex parte oppugnant me: pestilens sermo: & ad nocendum magno studio compositus, totum inuoluat.
- 39 Psalm CXLII, 11: Pojrzę w lewo, albo w prawo,
Campensis, v. 4: Respiciebam nunc in partem dextram, nunc in partem sinistram, [...]
- 40 Psalm CXLII, 15-16: A nikt sie z tym nie opowie,
Żeby łaskaw na me zdrowie.²¹
Campensis, v. 4: [...] nullus enim aderat, cui curæ esset vita mea.

¹⁸ Although Kochanowski's rendering does not differ significantly from the biblical text, his choice of verb (cf. Calvin: "præcipitauit"; Pagninus & Vulgate: "excussit") suggests the influence of either Buchanan's rendering (line 27: "Pharonem & Pharios submersit gurgite currus,") or Campensis' translation. However, given the fact that he also refers to Pharoah's army rather than his chariots indicates that he probably made use of Campensis' translation here.

¹⁹ While there is a similarity between Kochanowski's rendering in lines 4-5 and Calvin's commentary ("Porro materiam laudandi Deo sibi proponit in eius misericordia & veritate: quia etsi encomia etiam sua meretur eis potentia & virtus, nihil tamen acrius stimulare nos debet, ad celebrandum eius nomen, quam gratuita bonitas: quia liberaliter nobiscum agendo, os nobis ad canendas laudes aperit"), the fact that Campensis also refers to God's faithfulness in fulfilling His promises suggests that this is the more likely source of Kochanowski's rendering. As for lines 6-7, only Campensis refers to God delivering more than He had promised.

²⁰ While these lines are a free translation of the biblical text, the references to the counsel or intentions of the wicked being turned against them and to their speech rather than the product of their lips suggests that Kochanowski probably made use of Campensis' translation (cf. Calvin: "Caput obsidentium me, molestia laborum eius operiat eum"; Vulgate: "Caput circuitus eorum, labor laborum ipsorum operiet eos").

²¹ While line 15 has no equivalent in the biblical text, line 16 derives from Campensis' translation (cf. Calvin: "nullus requirens animam meam"; Vulgate: "& non est qui requirat animam meam").

- 41 Psalm CXLIII, 3-4: Według swej prawdy, według swej litości,
Racz mię ratować w mojej doległości.²²
- Campensis, v. 1: Domine exaudi precationem meam pro optima fide & æquitate tua: quia semper habes cum summa clementia coniunctam responde desiderio meo.
- 42 Psalm CXLIII, 5-8: Nie chciej się ze mną, Boże litościwy,
Prawem obchodzić: żaden człowiek żywy
Tak święty nie jest, aby na Twym sądzie
Nie miał być w jakim wytkniony nierządzie.²³
- Campensis, v. 2: Nec velis summo iure cum seruo tuo agere: nemo est enim viventium, qui sic iustus sit: vt non multa tu in eo verissime reprehendere possis.
- 43 Psalm CXLIII, 33-34: Duch Twój prawdziwy niechaj mię sprawuje,
I drogę k Tobie prostą ukazuje.
- Campensis, v. 10: [...] spiritus quæso tuus ille benignus ducat me per eam viam, quæ recta ducit ad te.
- 44 Psalm CXLIV, 31-32: Córy nasze niech kwitną tak, jako żrzetelne
Rzezane świecą słupy kościelne.²⁴
- Campensis, v. 12: [...] filiæ nostræ formosæ veluti angulares columnæ summo studio exornatæ: quales in templis & regum domibus conspiciuntur.
- 45 Psalm CXLV, 13-14: Tyś łaskawy, Tyś dobry: do gniewu leniwy,
Do miłosierdzia predki: [...]
- Campensis, v. 8: Misericors & clements dominus, tardus ad iram: ad clementiam autem pronus mirifice.

²² Although the imprecation for God to save the Psalmist rather than to hear his prayer indicates that Kochanowski probably made use of Buchanan's translation, the reference to mercy appears to derive from Campensis' version.

²³ While the reference to God's tribunal or court suggests the influence of Buchanan's translation, Kochanowski's imprecation for God not to deal with the Psalmist according to the law (line 6) and his manner of expression in lines 6-7 recalls Campensis' rendering.

²⁴ While the reference to the church might suggest that Kochanowski based his rendering on the Vulgate text ("Filiæ eorum compositæ, circumornatæ vt similitudo templi"), it is more likely that he derived his rendering from Campensis' translation which also refers to pillars ("[...] filiæ nostræ formosæ veluti angulares columnæ summo studio exornatæ: quales in templis & regum domibus conspiciuntur"). However, it appears that Kochanowski based his rendering on more than one source, for the reference to these girls as "Rzezane" suggests the influence of either Calvin's commentary ("Puellæ similes esse dicit angulis bene & affabre excisis") or Pagninus' translation ("sicut anguli excisi").

- 46 Psalm CXLV, 31-32: Blisko jest Pan tych, którzy do Niego wołają:
Mówię, którzy Go sercem uprzejmym wzywają.²⁵
- Campensis, v. 18: Prope adest dominus vniuersis, qui inuocant illum:
vniuersis inquam illis, qui implorant ex animo auxilium
illius.
- 47 Psalm CXLVI, 7-8: Bo ten nie pomoże sobie
Pogotowiu ani tobie.²⁶
- Campensis, v. 3: Nolite fidere in principibus: neque vlli ex posteris Adæ:
non enim habent potestatem beandi quempiam.
- 48 Psalm CXLVI, 23-24: Więźnie z oków rozwiązuje.²⁷
- Campensis, v. 7: [...] qui liberat e vinculis captiuos.
- 49 Psalm CXLIX, 7: Pan bowiem lud swój wierny wielce miłuje.²⁸
- Campensis, v. 4: Amat enim Dominus populum suum [....]
- 50 Psalm L, 11-12: Wszelka rzecz, która żywie,
Wyznaj Pana chętnie.²⁹
- Campensis, v. 6: Quicquid vsquam viuit, laudet dominum.
- (c) Pagninus.
- 1 Psalm CIX, 23: Niechaj go z m[a]jętności lichwnik wyzuje.³⁰
- Pagninus, v. 11: Ilaqueet fœnerator omnia quæ sunt ei, [....]

²⁵ While these lines might equally be a free translation of the biblical text, Kochanowski's manner of expression is very similar to that of Campensis' translation.

²⁶ While it seems likely that lines 7-8 owe something to Campensis' translation, Kochanowski's manner of expression is more emphatic.

²⁷ It is equally possible for Kochanowski to have derived his rendering in this line from Buchanan's translation although, since the Scot refers to those who have been released from prisons rather than to prisoners (lines 23-24: "Qui carcerum exemptos tenebris / Compedibus leuat innocentes"), it is more likely that he based his rendering on Campensis' translation.

²⁸ There is also a reference to God's love for His people in Buchanan's translation (lines 13-14: "Gentem bonus parens suam / Amore sancto amplectitur,").

²⁹ While these lines might be a free translation of the biblical text (cf. Calvin: "Quicquid spirat, laudet Deum"; Vulgate: "[...] omnis spiritus laudet dominum"), Kochanowski's manner of expression is very similar to that of Campensis' rendering.

³⁰ While the Vulgate text also contains a reference to "fœnerator", the fact that Kochanowski refers to him taking possession of the sinner's belongings rather than searching them indicates that he probably derived his rendering from Pagninus' translation (cf. Calvin: "Ilaqueet exactor quæcunque sunt illi: [....]"; Vulgate: "Scrutetur fœnerator omnem substantiam eius, [....]").

(d) Vulgate.

- 1 Psalm CVII, 15: I nawiódł na gościniec prawy obłąkane:
 Vulgate CVI, v. 7: Et deduxit eos in viam rectam, [....]
 Calvin CVII, v. 7: Et direxit eos via recta, [....]

- 2 Psalm CVII, 60: Nawę do portu zdrową przybili.
 Vulgate CVI, v. 30: [...] & deduxit eos in portum voluntatis eorum.
 Calvin CVII, v. 30: [...] & deducit eos ad regionem voti eorum.

- 3 Psalm CIX, 25: Niechaj go nikt nie wesprze w jego trudności,
 Vulgate CVIII, v. 11: Non sit illi adiutor, [....]
 Calvin CIX, v. 12: Ne sit illi protrahens clementiam: [....]

- 4 Psalm CXVI, 24: Abych sie Panu podobał swemu.
 Vulgate CXIV, v. 9: Placebo domino, in regione viuorum.
 Calvin CXVI, v. 9: Ambulabo coram facie Iehouæ in terris viuorum.

- 5 Psalm CXIX, 169: Niechaj ważna będzie moja modlitwa u Ciebie,
 Vulgate CXVIII, v. 169: Appropinquet deprecatio mea in conspectu tuo domine, [....]
 Calvin CXIX, v. 169: Appropinquet clamor meus ad faciem tuam Iehoua, [....]

- 6 Psalm CXXXVI, 7-8: A radości nastąpiły
 Na to miejsce, i śmiech miły.
 Vulgate CXXXV, v. 2: Tunc repletum est gaudio os nostrum, & lingua nostra exultatione.
 Calvin CXXXVI, v. 2: Iam implebitur [vel, Tunc impletum est] risu os nostrum, & lingua nostra exultatione: [....]

- 7 Psalm CXXXV, 6: I uczynił go włością swą na ziemi.³¹
 Vulgate CXXXIV, v. 4: [...] Israel in possessionem sibi.
 Calvin CXXXV, v. 4: [...] Israelem in peculium sibi[.]

³¹ Although "włość" does not correspond exactly to "possessio", it is clear that Kochanowski's rendering is rather closer to the Vulgate than to the Hebrew text (cf. Calvin: "peculium"; Campensis: "vt sit illi veluti ornamentum quodam & gemma preciosa").

- 8 Psalm CXXXVII, 12: Kiedy cię na początku wesela nie wspomnię.³²
 Vulgate CXXXVI, v. 6: Si non proposuero tui Ierusalem, in principio lætitiæ meæ.
 Calvin CXXXVII, v. 6: [...] si non extulero Ierusalem super caput lætitiæ meæ.
- 9 Psalm CXL, 24: A zły w swojejże złości sie uplecie.³³
 Vulgate CXXXIX, v. 11: [...] virum iniustum mala capient in interitu.
 Calvin CXL, v. 12: [...] virum violentiæ noxa venabitur ad expulsionones.
- 10 Psalm CXL, 27: Kiedy Pan będzie krzywdy mścił ubogich,
 Vulgate CXXXIX, v. 12: Cognoui quia faciet dominus iudicium inopis, & vindictam pauperum.
 Calvin CXL, v. 13: Cognoui quod faciet Iehoua iudicium pauperis, iudicium afflicti.

II. Commentaries.

(a) Calvin.

- 1 Psalm CVII, 39-40: Słowem swoim ich wszytki choroby okrócił,
 I mdłe ku zdrowiu pierwszemu wrócił.
 Calvin, v. 20: Nam siquis incommoda valetudine sit leuatus, non ita probe in leui mutatione expendet Dei manum, quæ se notabili & illustri modo exerit dum semimortuis restituit plenum vigorem.
- 2 Psalm CVII, 47: Ci umieją powiedzieć o Pańskiej możności,
 Calvin, v. 24: Verum quidem est, tales esse idoneos testes operum Dei, quia maior illic rerum incredibilium copia & varietas offertur quam in terra: [...]
- 3 Psalm CXII, 26-27: I pewien, że w krótkim czesie
 Zły człowiek pomstę odniesie.
 Calvin, v. 7: In summa, neque ferrei sunt neque stipites, sed fiducia quam in Deo locant, supra omnes anxietates se attollunt. Hoc modo mentes retinent pacatas & compositas, donec veniat maturum ultionis tempus contra reprobos.

³² While it is possible that this line is a free translation of the Hebrew text (cf. Calvin: "si non extulero Ierusalem super caput lætitiæ meæ"; Campensis: "si non præposuero laudes ipsius Hierusalem summo gaudio, quod vnquam contingere poterit mihi"), Kochanowski's manner of expression is closer to the Vulgate text.

³³ While the reference to the wicked man coming to grief as a result of his wickedness is common to all translations, the reference to him becoming ensnared by them is peculiar to the Vulgate text.

- 4 Psalm CXVI, 29-30: Jakież ja tedy Tobie, Panie, dać mam dzięki,
Za te tak szczodre dary Twej reki?³⁴
- Calvin, v. 12: Iam cum admiratione exclamat se magis obrui immensa beneficiorum Dei mole, quam vt referendæ gratiæ par esse queat. Emphatica enim interrogatio est, qua studium quidem sibi non deesse ostendit, sed rationem minime suppetere.
- 5 Psalm CXVIII, 51-52: Niechaj idzie wszelakim szczęściem obdarzony
Król od Boga naznaczony.³⁵
- Calvin, v. 26: Posset etiam gratulationis esse elogium, quum dicitur *Benedictus qui venit*. Sed quia mox subiicitur benedictio Sacerdotalis, potius in illam partem inclino, populum Dauidi precari Dei gratiam & fauorem. Iam quo votum hoc alacrius concipiant fideles, & inde animentur ad amplexandum quem illis Deus Regem præficit, additur continuo post promissio in Sacerdotum persona, *Benedicemus vobis e domo Domini*.
- 6 Psalm CXIX, 91: Twym porządkiem wszystko idzie, wszystko słucha Ciebie:
- Calvin, v. 91: Nomen *hayom* quod ego, alios interpretes sequutur, reddidi hucusque, non male verti posset quotidie, vel singulis quibusque diebus: sensu tamen non absimili. intelligit enim Propheta, totius naturæ ordinem, solius Dei imperio vel decreto niti.
- 7 Psalm CXIX, 132: [...] jakoś zwykł czynić swoim wiernym.³⁶
- Calvin, v. 132: Est igitur precatio hominis afflicti, qui dum videtur Dei auxilio destitui, neque aliud sentire potest quam se a Deo negligi ac desereri, secum tamen expendit alienum hoc ab ipsius Dei natura & consuetudine esse [...] Tantum danda est opera vt simus ex eorum numero ipsius diligunt. Porro hoc epitheto fideles designat [...]

³⁴ It is also possible that Kochanowski derived the reference to gratitude from Buchanan's translation (lines 43-44: "Quo tandem officio tibi / Conuer soluere grates?"), although the Scot makes no reference here to God's munificence.

³⁵ While the reference to the King in line 52 might equally derive from Estienne's note ("Dicitur venire in nomine Domini, ille quo Deus vtitur ad populi salutem. [...] Hic vero dicitur Rex venire in nomine Domini, quia Dominus eo fine regnum illud erexerat, vt populus fœliciter ageret sub posteris Dauidis vsque ad Christum"), Estienne does not refer to David's divine appointment to this station, nor does he expand upon the first part of this verse ("Benedictus qui venit"). There is little doubt, therefore, that Kochanowski based his rendering in these lines on Calvin's commentary.

³⁶ While "zwykł" in line 132 might derive from Campensis' translation ("Respice me & miserere mei, quomodo misereri soles eorum, qui amantes sunt nominis tui") or from Estienne's note ("Secundum consuetudinem. Ad verbum, secundum iudicium. i. pro ratione, norma, vel more tuo quo vteris erga diligentes te"), the reference to the faithful suggests that Kochanowski based his rendering in this line on Calvin's commentary.

- 8 Psalm CXX, 7-8: Twoje słowa są strzały jadem napojone
 Śmiertelnym, Twoje słowa węgle rozpalone.³⁷
- Calvin, v. 4: Summa est, Igneo ardore accensas esse & quasi lethali
 veneno tinctas calumniatorum linguas: [....]
- 9 Psalm CXX, 9-10: Miedzy zbójcy (niestety) jest mieszkanie moje,
 Miedzy ludem nieludzkim trawię lata swoje.³⁸
- Calvin, v. 5: Quod si quis Mesechitas a peritia sagittandi nomen
adeptos esse putet, non repugno: mode de hac re
conueniat, Prophetam, acsi in terram prædonum
relegatus esset, duræ ac molestæ habitationis tædium
exprimere. [...] Nam inde colligimus, Deo, ex cuius
Spiritu loquutus est, nihil magis esse detestabile, quam
falsas criminationes, quæ Dei Ecclesiam foeda vastitate
deformant: vt nihil fere a latronum speluncis vel locis
ob barbaram feritatem infamibus differat.
- 10 Psalm CXXII, 4: Zgodą mieszczan swych spojona na wieczne lata.³⁹
- Calvin, v. 3: Mutuam igitur coniunctionem, quæ viget inter ciues, &
 qua inter se cohærent, comparat ædificiis inter se
 pulchro artificio aptatis, [....]
- 11 Psalm CXXX, 5-8: Jesli tej z nami surowości
 Będiesz chciał użyć, jako złości
 Nasze są godne, kto praw, Panie,
 Przed srogim sądem Twym zostanie?
- Calvin, v. 3: Hic iam fatetur se iustas pœnas luere, quantumuis
 misere afflictus sit. [...] Simul ergo ac iræ suæ signa
 profert Deus, etiam qui aliis omnium sanctissimus
 videtur, ad hanc vocem descendat, si iure nobiscum
 agere statuatur Deus, vocetque ad tribunal suum,
 neminem mortalium posse consistere.

³⁷ It seems likely that lines 7-8 owe something to Calvin's commentary ("Summa est, Igneo ardore accensas esse & quasi lethali veneno tinctas calumniatorum linguas: [....]") for, while Buchanan also mentions poison-tipped arrows, the reference to them being harmful is in the comparative degree (lines 11-12: "Scythæ ferocis lingua pestilentior / Tinctis veneno spiculis").

³⁸ While Buchanan also refers to robbers and to a fierce nation (lines 15-18: "Heu vota tristis, vita dura & anxiosa, / Per inuios erratica / Montes, latrones inter, atque inhospita / Gentis feræ mapalia"), the fact that Kochanowski refers to the Psalmist dwelling in these regions rather than merely passing through them indicates that he probably based his rendering on Calvin's commentary.

³⁹ While it is possible that Kochanowski derived this reference from Campensis' translation ("In portis inquam Hierusalem sic extructæ, quemadmodum erat olim quum esset ciuitas, ad quam statis anni temporibus confluebat populus vniuersus, & recipiebatur commodissime") or from Estienne's note to the text ("[...] O Ierusalem, cuius ædificatio est absolutissima, & quæ es velut vrbs cuius ciues vnanimiter viuunt"), his manner of expression is closer to Calvin's commentary.

- 12 Psalm CXXX, 9-10: Aleś Ty Pan jest dobrotliwy,
Pan z przyrodzenia litościwy.⁴⁰
- Calvin, v. 4: Ideo quo se & alios melius confirmet Propheta, pronuntiat non posse a Deo suam clementiam auelli vel separari. acsi diceret, Simul ac de te cogito: occurrit etiam tua bonitas, vt non dubitem te mihi fore propitium, quia exuere naturam non potes: [....]
- 13 Psalm CXXXII, 17-18: Jesli Dawid sługa Twój łaskę miał u Ciebie,
Nie chciejże i potomstwa odmiatać od siebie.⁴¹
- Calvin, v. 10: Sicuti quum Solomen filium suum rogat Bethsabe, eodem verbo vtitur: acsi diceret, ne me reicias a conspectu tuo. [...] Summa est, vt Deus promissionis suae memor, erga Dauidis posteros fauorem suum prosequatur: [....]
- 14 Psalm CXXXVII, 17-18: Ale i ty Babylon, strzeż dobrze swej głowy,
Bo już wisi upadek nad tobą gotowy.⁴²
- Calvin, v. 8: Quauis ergo incredibile foret tam potenti monarchiae, qualis tunc erat Babylon, posse quicquam contingere aduersi, omnesque vulgo putarent inexpugnabile esse eius robur: cladem eius & interitum in verbi speculo intuetur Propheta.
- 15 Psalm CXXXIX, 41-42: O Panie, jako wielce są znamienite
Rady Twoje: [...] ⁴³
- Calvin, vv. 17-18: Idem & proximo versu confirmat, *siquis numerare tentet* arcana Dei consilia, eorum imensitatem superare arenas maris.

⁴⁰ While the references to God as good and merciful (lines 9-10) might derive from Estienne's note ("Recipit se Propheta, quod sit apud Deum clementia, propter quam & colitur. nam nisi ea bonitate agnosceretur vt peccata condonaret, nemo ipsum ex animo venerari posset, [....]"), the fact that Kochanowski states that God is merciful by nature strongly suggests the influence of Calvin's commentary.

⁴¹ The fact that Kochanowski refers to David's descendants ("potomstwa") rather than to David himself (Calvin & Pagninus: "Propter Dauid seruum tuum ne auersis faciem Christi tui"; Vulgate: "Propter Dauid seruum tuum, non auertas faciem christi tui"; Estienne: "Christi tui. vncti tui. id est meam. i. suscipe preces serui tui qui vnctus est mandato tuo Regem") indicates that he used either Buchanan's translation (lines 20-22: "[...] Si Dauid pectore puro / Te coluit, ne Dauidicæ nunc respue prolis / Dona, [...]") or Calvin's commentary. However, Buchanan's version does not contain the prayer that these descendants not be cast out of God's sight. Thus Kochanowski probably derived his rendering from Calvin's commentary. The use of "Jesli" in line 17, however, does suggest the influence of Buchanan. It is possible, though by no means certain, that he also derived the reference to God's mercy from Calvin's commentary for a continuation of the divine favour is implied both in this verse and the next.

⁴² While I can find no precedent for Kochanowski's manner of expression in these lines 17-18, the sum of what is said in line 18 agrees with Calvin's commentary from which, in my opinion, the poet derived his interpretation of this verse (verse 8).

⁴³ The reference to God's counsel might equally derive from Campensis' translation ("Interim mihi quam incomprehensibilia facta sunt consilia tua omnipotens deus, [....]").

- 16 Psalm CXLIV, 29-30: Niech nam synowie rosną tak, jako zielone
Jabłonki rosną nowoszczepione:⁴⁴
- Calvin, v. 12: Et primo quidem a liberis incipis, in quibus [...] masculos *plantis* comparat *quæ in adolescentia creuerunt*: quia arbores nisi mature grandescant, dum adhuc teneræ sunt, vix vnquam acquirunt proceritatem.
- 17 Psalm CXLVI, 13-14: To człowiek prawie szczęśliwy,
Komu sam Pan jest chetliwy:
- Calvin, v. 5: Sicuti autem verum Deum sua nota designat: sic ostendit nonnisi certa adoptionis fide fieri vt quisque nostrum in eum recumbat. quia propitium nobis esse oportet, vt nobis paratum sit eius auxilium.
- 18 Psalm CXLVI, 31-32: [...] Tenże zgładzi,
Co zły w głowie swej uradzi.
- Calvin, v. 9: *Disperdet* igitur Deus *viam impiorum*, quia omnia eorum consilia, omnes actiones, quicquid tentarint vel aggressi fuerint, maledicet, vt nihil eis prospere succedat.
- (b) Estienne.
- 1 Psalm CVIII, 10-11: [...] a światu wszytkiemu
Okaż wielmożność swoje: [...] ⁴⁵
- Estienne, note to v. 6: Gloria tua: decus tuum. maiestas tua. sub. sit, vel appareat. Verti potest, gloriam tuam. sub. ostende.
- 2 Psalm CX, 18: Książę może [z]abije:
- Estienne, note to v. 6: Caput, &c. Singul. pro plur, hoc est percutiet capita, siue Principes qui præsumt regionibus amplis, [...]
- 3 Psalm CXI, 3-4: [...] wielką czuje
Rozkosz, kto sie im pilnie przypatruje.
- Estienne, note to v. 2: Explorata omnibus volentibus ea. peruestigabilia omnibus qui optant ea. vel delectantur ipsis. i. quæ inueniri & cognosci possunt ab iis qui studium suum ad ea considerata applicant.

⁴⁴ Although Kochanowski differs from Calvin in specifying the type of tree, nonetheless the fact that he refers to a tree rather than to plants (cf. Calvin, Vulgate: "plantæ"; Campensis: "plantule") suggests that he derived his rendering from Calvin's commentary.

⁴⁵ Although we find a reference to God's majesty in Campensis' translation ("[...] & appareat per vniuersam terram maiestas tua"), the use of the imperative "Okaż" suggests the influence of Estienne's note.

- 4 Psalm CXIII, 9-10: Kto kiedy z Panem tym porówna? który,
Dziwnie wysoko siedząc, przesię z góry
- Estienne, note to v. 5: Qui eleuat, &c. qui se attollit ad sedendum. id est in summo & sublimi deligit sibi sedem, attollit se supra cælos. [...] Ita versus iste sequenti iungitur, q. d. Tametsi Deus excelsus sit supra omnes cælos, non tamen impedit hac eius altitudo quominus foueat paterna cura quæcunque condidit.
- 5 Psalm CXV, 31-32: Niebo wysokie Jego jest mieszkanie,
A ziemię ludziom podał w używanie [.]
- Estienne, note to v. 16: Cælum, cælum Iehouæ est: His verbis significat Deum vnica gloria sua contentum esse. q. d. Sufficit Deo habitatio cælestis, [...] cæli sunt illi pro centum mundis: intus est fœlicitas: quicquid autem creauit, illud creauit in vsum filiorum hominum [....]
- 6 Psalm CXV, 35-36: Ale my, którzy na świecie żywiemy,
Wiecznemi czasy ślawić Cię będziemy.
- Estienne, note to v. 17: Si enim mundus in hunc finem creatus est vt homines fruantur eius opibus & copiis: quid fiet si desinant viuere, præsertim si nulli habitent in terra qui celebrent Dei gloriam, & reputent omnia bona sibi ex eius manu fluere?
- 7 Psalm CXVI, 35: Drogo Ty krewno u siebie sług swoich szacujesz,
I wszelkiej krzywdy srodze wetujesz.⁴⁶
- Estienne, note to v. 15: Misericordium eius. Vide Psal. 4.a.4 q. d. grauate fert mortem proborum Deus: propterea si quis eos interfecerit, non impune feret; etiamsi non statim extendat brachium suum Deus ad vlciscendum sanguinem piorum, tandem patebit pretiosam illi fuisse ipsorum mortem, [....]
- 8 Psalm CXVIII, 37: Otwórcie mi drzwi Pańskie: niech dam dzięki [...] ⁴⁷
- Estienne, note to v. 19: Portas iustitiæ, i. templum in quo congregantur iusti & sancti, vt coram illis gratias agam Deo.

⁴⁶ While the reference to blood could equally derive from Calvin's commentary ("Sicut hodie quum innoxus sanguis funditur, & atrociter insultant impii, acsi, Deo victo, triumphos agerent, stet nobis firma hæc doctrina, mortem fidelium, quæ sordida est coram hominibus, imo probrosa, in oculis Dei esse pretiosam [....]"), and the reference to vengeance from Buchanan's paraphrase (lines 55-56: "Nec per vim pereuntium / Manes linquis inultos"), the fact that Kochanowski's rendering contains both these details suggests that he made use of Estienne's note.

⁴⁷ Although we find something similar in Campensis' translation ("Aperite mihi portas iustitiæ, & ingrediar per eas, & gratiarum actionibus laudabo seruatorem dominum"), Kochanowski's manner of expression is closer to that of Estienne's note.

- 9 Psalm CXIX, 122: Ciesz się łaską swą, i racz mię z ich rąk oswobodzić.⁴⁸
- Estienne, note to v. 122: Vel potius, Fac vt seruus tuus bono oblectetur [...] [...] Tunc fideiussor hoc loco pro vindice accipietur qui nos liberat. [...] Sic metaphorice dicitur Deus fideiubere pro nobis quum nos liberat ab improbis & hostibus nostris, [...]
- 10 Psalm CXIX, 129: Dziwne są Twe tajemnice, których myśl pilnuje,⁴⁹
- Estienne, note to v. 129: Res mirabiles Occultationes. Res arcanas [...] Ita vertendum potius, ne sit loquutio ambigua: videretur enim esse adiectiuum: nam Propheta intelligit in Dei testimoniis contineri mysteria: [...]
- 11 Psalm CXIX, 167-168: [...] bo me
Wszytki sprawy, wszytki myśli Tobie są wiadome.
- Estienne, note to v. 168: Alii vero hoc genus dicendi exponunt, Custodio praecepta tua, non tanquam in hominum conspectu, vt illis prober, sed tanquam in conspectu tuo, qui verus es iudex omnium mearum cogitationum & operationum, atque earundem spectator.
- 12 Psalm CXIX, 175: Żyć mię słowem swym ku swej czci: jam, jak' owca, zginął,⁵⁰
- Estienne, note to v. 175: Viuet q.d. Si longiorem vitam mihi contuleris, dabo operam vt te laudem. aut tam confidenter loquitur & gloriatur de vita sua, fretus Dei promissionibus.
- Estienne, note to v. 176: Erraui sicut ouis Quidam existimant Dauidem hic fateri sua delicta quum se comparat oui perditae: [...]
- 13 Psalm CXX, 5 Co swym kłamstwem pożyszczesz, języku wszeteczny,⁵¹
- Estienne, note to v. 3: Est autem Hebraismus, pro, Quem fructum capies ex sermone fallacis?

⁴⁸ While the imprecation for God to gladden the Psalmist could equally derive from Calvin's commentary ("Similis fere precatio est secundi versus, sic enima malo interpretari verbum *arob*, quam cum aliis vertere, oblecta seruorum tuorum bono, vel, fac vt bono delectetur seruus tuus; [...]"), the fact that Kochanowski refers in the second hemistich to God liberating him indicates that the poet based his rendering on Estienne's note.

⁴⁹ While we also find a reference to God's wondrous mysteries in Buchanan's translation (line 129: "Mira rituum tuorum [...] mysteria"), Kochanowski's manner of expression in the first hemistich is closer to the biblical text. Thus it seems likely that he derived the reference to "tajemnice" from Estienne's note.

⁵⁰ While we find a reference to the sheep being about to die in Campensis' translation ("Aberrauit sicut ouiculum quae peritura videtur, [...]"), Kochanowski's choice of tense and the reference to God's promise suggest that he made use of Estienne's note here.

⁵¹ While Kochanowski's manner of expression is very similar to that of Estienne's note, it is possible that this line is a free translation of the biblical text (cf. Calvin: "Quid dabit tibi, & quid addet tibi lingua doli"; Vulgate: "Quid detur tibi, aut quid apponatur tibi ad linguam dolosam?")

- 14 Psalm CXXXI, 5: Niechaj wiecznie nie uznám, Panie, łaski Twojej,⁵²
 Estienne, note to v. 2: Confirmat autem superiora iureiurando. q.d. frustrer spe mea, siue, nunquam Deus mihi adsit, si non coercuerim, siue compescuerim, quietum reddiderim animam meam, [...]
- 15 Psalm CXXXVII, 5: Lecz poganin niebaczny, w tej naszej żałobie,
 Estienne, note to v. 3: Nonnulli deducunt [...] vlulare, vt *sade* redundet, vertentes, Et homines eiulatum nostrorum peterent lætitiā. i. quum authores luctuum & lamentationum nostrorum peterent, &c.
- 16 Psalm CXXXVIII, 14: I sprawy Twe wychwalali,
 Estienne, note to v. 5: In viis vias. Alii, de viis. i. de his quæ aguntur a Iehoua, hoc est opera Iehouæ.
- 17 Psalm CXXXIX, 3-4: Ty mię znasz lubo siedzę, znasz lubo stoje,
 I z daleka rozumiesz wszytkę myśl moję.⁵³
 Estienne, note to v. 2: Et surrectionem meam. & stationem meam. Alii, siue sedeam, siue surgam. q.d. omnes actiones meas quas ago siue sedendo, siue stando.
- 18 Psalm CXLIII, 10: A ja w jaskiniach ślepych mieszkać muszę,⁵⁴
 Estienne, note to v. 3: In obscuris in tenebricosis. i. coegit vt habitarem in spelunca tenebrosa.
- 19 Psalm CXLV, 6: Żaden rozum, żadna myśl objąć Cię nie może.
 Estienne, note to v. 3: Inuestigatio, exploratio. i. cuius magnitudo imperuestigabilis est. humano sensui nec potest comprehendi.

⁵² While it is not certain that Kochanowski derived his rendering in this line from Estienne's note, the fact that the apodosis of the condition is unexpressed in the biblical text suggests that this line might be a free translation of Estienne's note.

⁵³ While this reference is common to both the Vulgate and the Hebrew texts (cf. Calvin: "Tu cognouisti sedere meum & surgere meum, [...]"; Campensis: "Tu nouisti quum sessurus sum, vel surrecturus: [...]" ; Vulgate: "[...] tu cognouisti sessionem meam & resurrectionem meam"), Kochanowski's manner of expression, in which the verb is employed in the first person singular present indicative active, is most similar to Estienne's note. However, it is not certain that Kochanowski derived his rendering from here.

⁵⁴ Although Estienne prefers another interpretation of this phrase ("Vel potius dicit se in tenebris positum esse tanquam putridum cadauer: acsi diceret actum esse de vita sua, imo iam redactum esse in putredinem, ita vt nulla sit spes restitui se vilo modo posse"), it is very likely that Kochanowski derived the reference to caves from here (cf. Calvin: "[...] locauit me in tenebrosis, [...]"; Campensis: "[...] habitare me cogit in locis obscurissimis, [...]"; Vulgate: "Collocauit me in obscuris [...]").

- 20 Psalm CXLV, 8: I Twoję osobliwą dzielność wspominały.
 Estienne, note to v. 4: Et fortitudines tuas annuntiabunt, & potentias tuas commemorabunt [....]
- 21 Psalm CXLVII, 10: Niepojęty, niezmierny w swojej mądrości.
 Estienne, note to v. 5: Intelligentiæ eius Opponit intelligentiam sensui nostro, quod non possimus capere quomodo hoc vel illud acturus sit quemadmodum promissit.

III. Verse Translations.

(a) Buchanan.

- 1 Psalm CVII, 5: Jedni stąd, kędy słońce występuje z morza:
 Buchanan, 6-8: [...] qua surgit ab vndis,
 Et qua abiens se condit in vndas
Phœbus, [...]
- 2 Psalm CVII, 10: Gdzie stopy ludzkiej nie najdowali,
 Buchanan, 11: Qua nulla ad cultas ducunt vestigia terras,
- 3 Psalm CVII, 17-18: Niechajże wielką Jego dobroć wyznawają,
 I sprawy świata opowiadają.⁵⁵
 Buchanan, 17-18: Ergo canant Dominumque bonum, facilemque parentem,
 Et late ignotis pandant facta terris:
- 4 Psalm CVII, 27-28: I wywiódł je z więzienia, i strach śmierci srogiej
 Złożył z troskliwej dusze ubogiej.⁵⁶
 Buchanan, 28-29: Vincula manu valida rupit, mortisque timorem
 Reppulit, & tetris pauidos eduxit ab vmbris.
- 5 Psalm CVII, 31-32: Który wrota żelazne, i nieprzekowane
 Wyłamał snadnie progi spiżane.
 Buchanan 32: Liminaque & portæ qui claustra refregit ahenæ.

⁵⁵ While Kochanowski's rendering does not differ significantly from the Hebrew text, the fact that he refers to God's goodness rather than His mercy, and to His deeds rather than to His miracles, suggests that he made use of Buchanan's version in these lines.

⁵⁶ It is my opinion that the reference to a prison in line 27 ("z więzienia") was influenced by an earlier reference in Buchanan's translation (lines 21-22: "Quique Dei monitis ingrata mente relictis, / Carceris in tenebris & c'ca nocte iacebant). As for the reference to the fear of death, this might derive from Campensis' translation which refers not to "vmbra mortis", as in the Hebrew and Vulgate texts, but to "[...] horrenda: quæ mortem ipsam minitibatur, [...]".

- 6 Psalm CVII, 47: Ci umieją powiedzieć o Pańskiej możności,
 Buchanan, 48: Non ignota illi diuina potentia, [...]
- 7 Psalm CVII, 53-54: Żeglarzom twarzy bladna: serce zjął strach srogi:
 Odjął i ręce, odjął i nogi.
 Buchanan, 53-54: Pallent ora, metus trepidantia pectora pulsant,
 Et velut oppressis vino vestigia nutant.
- 8 Psalm CVII, 65-68: Tenże rzekę osusza, i zbiegłe strumienie
Niewymacany ponikiem żenie.
 I obraca, prze zbytek ludzki, grunty płodne
 W piasek, i w słone pola nierodne.⁵⁷
 Buchanan, 64-68: [...] qui flumina siccant,
 Et riguos passim riuis bulantibus agros,
 Fontibus occlusis sitienti damnat arena:
 Et foecunda, sui facta ob scelerata coloni,
 Arua iubet salsis subito sterilescere glebis.
- 9 Psalm CVII, 87: Kto ma rozum, to wszystko uważy, [...]
 Buchanan, 89-90: [...] Ast animi quibus est solertia, cura
 Assidua volunt, [...]
- 10 Psalm CIX, 13: Niechajże mu też za to Tyran panuje,⁵⁸
 Buchanan, 13: Tu pater hunc sæuo vastandum trade tyranno:
- 11 Psalm CIX, 58: Uchło, jako wilgości w kościach nie stało.⁵⁹
 Buchanan, 62: Exangue siccis corpus aret ossibus.
- 12 Psalm CIX, 63-64: Niech rękę Twoję znają, niechaj się dowie
Zły człowiek, żeś Ty łaskaw na moje zdrowie.
 Buchanan, 67-68: Agnoscantque tuam, rerum pater optime, dextram:
Tuaque saluum me sciant clementia.

⁵⁷ While the reference to God drying up rivers in line 65 might derive from Campensis' translation of the biblical text, the fact that both Buchanan and Kochanowski refer to the water being shut away, thus causing a drought, suggests that Kochanowski based his version on the Scot's rendering. Lines 67-68 also appear to owe something to Buchanan's rendering for, while the biblical text contains a reference to salt ("salusginem"), only Buchanan refers to both sand and salt.

⁵⁸ While I can find no exact equivalent for Kochanowski's rendering in lines 13 or 16, it is possible that the reference to a tyrant in line 13 owes something to Buchanan's rendering.

⁵⁹ While the reference to moisture might equally derive from the expositions of Calvin or Estienne (cf. Calvin: "Simplicior tamen sensus est, maciem contraxisse ex dolore & inedia: quia succus defecerit"; Estienne: "Verum alter sensus simplicior est, quod pene inedia succus in ipso defecerit, ita vt nulla fere in ipso esset caro"), the fact that Kochanowski also refers to bones suggests that he based his rendering on Buchanan's translation.

- 13 Psalm CIX, 69: A ja więc Panu dzięki będę oddawał,
Buchanan, 77: Ast ego tum Domino grates memor ore sonabo,
- 14 Psalm CX, 5-7: Na kraj świata rościagnę z Sionu wielkiego
Władzę królestwa twego:
A ty na wszystkie strony używaj praw swoich,⁶⁰
Buchanan, 4-8: Ad orbis oras vltimas fascēs tuos
Alta ab Sione proferam:
Vt iuris æqui vinculis coerceas
Fastus rebelles hostium.
- 15 Psalm CX, 20: Przeto nieba dosięże wysokiego głową.
Buchanan, 31-32: Ergo subactis hostibus cælo caput
Tollet decorum gloria.
- 16 Psalm CXI, 10-11: Nieprzyjacielskim łupem swój lud wierny
Hojnie bogaci: [...] ⁶¹
Buchanan, 17-18: [...] spoliis ex hoste superbo
Direptis decorauit amicos.
- 17 Psalm CXI, 15-16: Sprawy rąk Jego prawdą miarkowane,
Sprawiedliwością prawa prostowane.
Buchanan, 25-27: Quicquid agit loquiturque, fides immobilis actus
Æqui & regula dirigit omnes.
Quæ iubet, æqua iubet, [...]
- 18 Psalm CXII, 9-12: W jego domu na czas wszelki
Najdzie się dostatek wielki:
Jego uprzejmej dobroci
Wiek nadłuższy nie okroci.
Buchanan, 9-12: Res affluenter suppetet semper domi
Illi: nec ætas longior
Obliterabit æquitatis gloriam
Fructumque. [...]

⁶⁰ While the biblical text mentions that God shall extend David's kingdom beyond Sion, the references to the furthest limits of the earth and to laws, and his use of the first person singular rather than the third person singular strongly suggest that Kochanowski made use of Buchanan's rendering in these lines.

⁶¹ The reference to spoils might also derive from Campensis' translation ("Spolia hostium diuisit cultoribus suis, [...]") or from Estienne's note ("Escam Prædam. eam scilicet quam secum abstulerunt filii Israel quum egrederentur ex Ægypto"), although the fact that Kochanowski refers to the Israelites' enemies rather than specifically to the Egyptians suggests that he probably did not make use of Estienne's note here.

- 19 Psalm CXII, 15-16: Pan o cnotliwym narodzie
Piecza ma w każdej przygodzie.⁶²
Buchanan, 17-18: Clemens bonusque in omnibus periculis
Stirpem piorum muniēt.
- 20 Psalm CXII, 33-34: Na to patrzac zły boleje,
Gniewiem i zazdrością mdleje:
Buchanan, 46-48: Spectabit impius pium,
Curæque mentem vellicabunt anxiae,
Succumque carpent corporis,
- 21 Psalm CXIII, 2: Śpiewajcie imię Pańskie świętobliwe.
Buchanan, 1-2: Psallite Dominum pueri, Domini
Nomen festo tollite cantu.
- 22 Psalm CXIV, 6 & Obrócił sie wspak strumień do głowy. [...]
 23 Psalm CXIV, 10: Strumieniu, wspak sie wrócił do głowy?
Buchanan, 6: Iordanis refugas in caput egit aquas.
- 24 Psalm CXVI, 1-2: Mam przecz Pana miłować, który z łaski swojej,
Raczył usłyszeć głos prośby mojej.⁶³
Buchanan, 1-4: Toto pectore diligam
Vnice & Dominum colam,
Qui lenis mihi supplici
Non duram appulit aurem.
- 25 Psalm CXVI, 3-4: Dał mi ucho łaskawe: Tego będę wzywał,
Póki duch we mnie będzie przebywał.
Buchanan, 7-8: Donec pectora spiritus
Pulset, semper amabo

⁶² There is little doubt that Kochanowski derived his interpretation of the text in these lines from Buchanan's translation (cf. Calvin: "[...] clemens, & misericors, & iustus"; Campensis: "[...] clementi videlicet, pio, & iusto"; Vulgate: "[...] misericors & miserator & iustus").

⁶³ Kochanowski's choice of tenses in lines 1-2 suggests that he modelled his rendering on Buchanan's version rather than the biblical text (cf. Calvin: "Dilexi, quia exaudiet Iehoua voce precatationis meae"; Campensis: "Amaui dominum, quod exaudieturum confidam illum preces meas"; Vulgate: "Dilexi quoniam exaudiet dominus vocem orationis meae").

- 26 Psalm CXVI, 26-28: Aczem już w troskach prawie ustawał.
Mówiłem uciekając: nadzieja w człowiecze
Próżna: Bóg tylko ziści, co rzecze.⁶⁴
- Buchanan, 33-40: Lassus, rebus & asperis
Afflictus, trepida fuga
Vitæ prospiciens meæ,
Sic mecum ipse loquebar,
Nulli certa homini fides:
At rerum arbiter optimus,
Vnus pollicit tenax,
Vnus fallere nescit.
- 27 Psalm CXVII, 1-4: Wszelki naród, wszelkie plemię,
Coście w okrag obsiedli ziemię,
Pana z chęcią wyznawajcie,
Jemu cześć, i chwałę dajcie.⁶⁵
- Buchanan, 1-4: Omnes vbique gentium
Quos solis ambit orbita,
Rerum parentis optimi
Laudes libenter pangite.
- 28 Psalm CXVIII, 13-14: [...] upad ujrzę swema
Nieprzyjacielski oczema.⁶⁶
- Buchanan, 13-14: Ille mihi auxilio sit solus, lumina damnis
Explebo (nec me decipit spes) hostium.
- 29 Psalm CXVIII, 15-16: Bezpieczniej Bogu dufać, niżli człowiekowi,
Niż nawietzemu królowi.
- Buchanan, 15-18: Tutius a rerum Domino est sperare salutem,
Confidere armis quam virorum fortium:
Tutius a rerum Domino est sperare salutem,
Confidere opibus quam potentum principum.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ The references to the Psalmist's tiredness and flight, and Kochanowski's rendering in line 27 and his addition of line 28, for which there is no equivalent in the biblical text all point to him having derived his rendering in these lines from Buchanan's translation.

⁶⁵ Although Kochanowski's rendering differs significantly from Buchanan's, nonetheless, the addition of line 2 and of the phrase "z chęcią" in line 3 seem to suggest that he modelled his rendering on the Scot's version to some extent.

⁶⁶ Although Kochanowski's choice of lexis differs from that in Buchanan's version, the fact that he refers both to the Psalmist's eyes and to the misfortune which will befall his enemies suggests that he made use of Buchanan's translation in these lines.

⁶⁷ While "Bezpieczniej" reveals the influence of Buchanan ("Tutius"), Kochanowski adheres to the Hebrew text in line 15. The reference to a powerful king in line 16 appears to be a free translation of Buchanan's rendering, although we find something similar in the biblical text (cf. Calvin and Pagninus: "Melius est sperare in Iehoua, quam confidere in homine: Melius est sperare in Iehoua, quam confidere in Principibus"; Campensis: "Multo est melius spem suam collocare in domino, quam fidere cuius hominum. Multo est melius spem suam collocare in domino: quam fidere vili principum"; Vulgate: "Bonum est sperare in domino, quam confidere in homine: Bonum est sperare in domino, quam confidere in principibus").

- 30 Psalm CXVIII, 19-20: Zewsząd mię byli prawie, zewsząd obegnali,
Bóg mi zdarzył, że przegrali.
- Buchanan, 21-22: Circudent omnique premant ex parte licebit,
Dei fauentis conteram cunctos ope:
- 31 Psalm CXVIII, 27-30: Dobrych pobożnych ludzi wszytki są mieszkania
Pełne wdzięcznego śpiewania.
Silna jest ręka Pańska, siła dokazuje,
Silna, i silnie wojuje.⁶⁸
- Buchanan, 33-36: [...] cantuque ferent ad sydera dextram
Belli potentem, diuitem victoriae:
Dextram armis, dextram praestantem robore, dextram
Belli potentem, diuitem victoriae.
- 32 Psalm CXVIII, 31-32: Śmierci, próżno mi grozisz: nic mi nie straszliwe
Twoje strzały popędliwe.⁶⁹
- Buchanan, 37-38: Sæua quid insultas mihi mors? tua tela reconde,
Frustra minaci territis me spiculo.
- 33 Psalm CXVIII, 33-34: Otom ja żyw: i będę słauił po wszej ziemi
Sprawy Pańskie rymy swemi.
- Buchanan, 39-40: Viuo equidem, viusque feram super æthera cantu
Raram benigni numinis clementiam.
- 34 Psalm CXVIII, 39: To są ony żywego Boga wdzięczne progi,⁷⁰
- Buchanan, 45: Hæc est illa Deo gratissima ianua: [...]
- 35 Psalm CXVIII, 45-48: A to przywłaszczyc musiem Pańskiemu przejrzeniu,
Co dziś u nas w podziwieniu.
To jest on dzień szczęśliwy, dzień błogosławiony,
Ku pociesze nam sprawiony.⁷¹
- Buchanan, 53-56: Scilicet arcano factum est hoc numine, nostra
Attonita factum quod stupescunt lumina.
O lux festa, o lux iucunda ad gaudia nata,
Cælestis in nos lux fauoris conscia.

⁶⁸ There is little doubt that the reference in lines 29-30 to God being mighty in war derives from Buchanan's translation. As for lines 27-28, although Kochanowski adheres more closely to the biblical text than does Buchanan, the fact that he refers to singing rather than to "Vox exultationis & salutis" (Calvin & Vulgate) suggests that he made use of the Scot's rendering here too.

⁶⁹ While Kochanowski's manner of expression in lines 31-32 differs from Buchanan's translation, the fact that both poets have added an apostrophe to death, for which there is no equivalent in the biblical text, suggests that Kochanowski probably did base his rendering on the Scot's version.

⁷⁰ Although I can find no precedent for the reference to "progi" in line 39, Buchanan sometimes uses "limina" to stand, by metonymy, for "ianua" (line 43: "Pandite pontifices sacri mihi limina templi"; line 45: "Hæc est illa Deo gratissima ianua: [...]"). The adjective "wdzięczne" suggests that Kochanowski has based his rendering on Buchanan's translation.

⁷¹ It seems likely that Kochanowski modelled his rendering in lines 47-48 on Buchanan's translation, although he has reversed the order in which the final two clauses occur.

- 36 Psalm CXVIII, 54: Wszego dobra wam winszujem.⁷²
 Buchanan, 62: Vobis precamur cuncta vertant prospere.
- 37 Psalm CXVIII, 55-56: Bóg Pan prawy: Ten światłem swojej życzliwości
 Roświecił nasze ciemności.
 Buchanan, 64: Qui gratiæ in nos lumen effundit suæ.
- 38 Psalm CXIX, 10: Toć jest mój cel: nie daj, Panie, mijać ustaw swoich.
 Buchanan, 10: Hic ne aberrem modo laboro: [...]
- 39 Psalm CXIX, 12: Ucz mię, nieśmiertelny Panie, Twej sp[r]awiedliwości.
 Buchanan, 12-13: Rector orbis, æquitatis regulam tuæ doce
 Me, [...]
- 40 Psalm CXIX, 14-16: Które u mnie miejsce mają przed skarby wszystkiemi.
W tych się ćwiczę ustawicznie, ty się przypatruję,
Tych nigdy nie przepamiętam, w tych sobie lubuję.⁷³
 Buchanan, 14-16: Illa longa chariora auro vt æstimem:
Illa cogitem, illa secter, illa mirer vnice:
Illa nulla e corde nostro deleant obliuia.
- 41 Psalm CXIX, 19: Nie taj praw swych przychodniowi biednemu na
 ziemi,⁷⁴
 Buchanan, 19: Inquilinum iussa legis ne tuæ celaueris.
- 42 Psalm CXIX, 25: Dusza moja mdleje: racz ją słowem swym ochłodzić,
 Buchanan, 25: Æger animus languet: ægrum recrea verbo tuo.
- 43 Psalm CXIX, 39: Uchowaj mię hańby: boś Ty uznawca prawdziwy,
 Buchanan, 39: Libera probro a pudendo me benignus arbiter.

⁷² While this line could be a free translation of the biblical text (cf. Calvin: "[...] benedicemus vobis e domo lehouæ"; Campensis: "[...] bene precati sumus vobis & nos e domo domini[...]" ; Vulgate: "Benediximus vobis de domo domini, [...]"), Kochanowski's manner of expression is closer to that of Buchanan's rendering.

⁷³ While the reference to the Psalmist valuing wealth less than God's judgments might equally derive from Campensis' translation ("Modus & ordo admonitionum tuarum oblectauit me quantum nullæ diuitiæ"), Kochanowski's manner of expression in lines 15-16 recalls that of Buchanan's rendering, although it does not differ significantly from the biblical text.

⁷⁴ Although Kochanowski's rendering in this line does not differ significantly from the biblical text, his decision to combine the two clauses of verse 19 into one is very reminiscent of Buchanan's translation. It is likely that he based his rendering on the Scot's rendering.

- 44 Psalm CXIX, 51: Niech sie hardzi śmieja, ja Twych praw nie odstępuję,⁷⁵
 Buchanan, 51: Rideant licet superbi, te sequar: [...]
- 45 Psalm CXIX, 54-56: Które u mnie są za pieśni, dokąd tu lat moich.
 Imię Twe w nocy rozczytam, i Twe przykazanie,
 To jest praca, ustawiczne to moje staranie.
 Buchanan, 54-56: Carmen hæc erit mihi, orbem donec hospes hunc colam.
 Hanc vt obseruem tenebræ me silentes admonent:
Illa mentem cura semper vnice exercet meam.
- 46 Psalm CXIX, 61: Nosząc pęta niepobożnych Twój zakon wyznawam,
 Buchanan, 61: Impeditus impiorum vinculis hanc cogito.
- 47 Psalm CXIX, 71: Nauczyły mnie, strzedz Twoich wyroków, kłopoty:⁷⁶
 Buchanan, 71: Erudisti me malis, vt legi adhæream tuæ,
- 48 Psalm CXIX, 73: Jestem czyn rąk Twych: daj mi znać swoje roszkanie,
 Buchanan, 73: Da manu tua creato nosse vim legis tuæ.
- 49 Psalm CXIX, 80: Myśl posłuszna Twych praw niechaj wstydu nie
odnasza.
 Buchanan, 80: Nec ferat tibi obsecundas pura mens infamiam.
- 50 Psalm CXIX, 81-83: Serce czekając ustawa, nadzieja nie stanie,
 I oczy patrząc ustały na Twój ratunk, Panie.
Wiedne, jako skóra w dymie, [...]
 Buchanan, 81-83: Deficit mens spe salutis, spes nec illam deficit.
Lassa languent lumina: vtris corpus instar aridi
Tabuit. [...]
- 51 Psalm CXIX, 88: Wedla której daj bych umiał wieść wszystkie swe
sprawy.
 Buchanan, 88: Scita fac vt ad tua omnes actiones dirigam.

⁷⁵ Although Kochanowski adheres to the biblical text more closely than does Buchanan in the second part of this line, it is apparent that his manner of expression in the first hemistich was modelled on the Scot's version.

⁷⁶ While the substance of what is said in this line does not differ significantly from the Hebrew text (cf. Calvin: "Bonum mihi quod afflictus sum vt discam edicta tua"; Campensis: "Vtile fuit quod rebus aduersis afflictus fuerim: hoc enim in causa fuit, vt studiosius discere cuperem mandata tua"; Vulgate: "Bonum mihi quod humiliasti me, vt discam iustificationes tuas"), there is a definite similarity between Kochanowski's rendering and Buchanan's version. However, while Buchanan attributes these afflictions to God, Kochanowski's rendering is more impersonal.

- 52 Psalm CXIX, 98-99: Te mię nad nieprzyjacioły mędrszym czynią moje.
Tych słuchając, dowcipniejszym, niż moi mistrzowie,
 Buchanan, 98-99: Hostibus prudentiorem me meis hæc reddidit.
 Factus huic fui obsequendo doctior doctoribus.
- 53 Psalm CXIX, 104: Z liłch przestrogi z niepobożnym nie mam żadnej
 sprawy.
 Buchanan, 104: Eruditus hic, recedo a semita mendacii.
- 54 Psalm CXIX, 111-112: [...] ku temu celowi
Zmierzać będę, póki wieku zostawa człowiekowi.⁷⁷
 Buchanan, 112: Hic scopus mihi manebit vnus, aura dum fruar.
- 55 Psalm CXIX, 113-118: Jako zakon Twój miłuję, tak sie brzydzą złemi:
 Tyś nadzieja, Tyś jest moja obrona na ziemi.
 Precz ode mnie źli: ja Pańskich ustaw niech pilnuję,
 Posi[] mię: niech sie za rzeczy płone nie ujmuje.
 Opatrz mię zdrowiem, bych długo Twoje chował
 prawa,
 Starłeś wszystkie swe zmienniki: bo sprośna ich
 sprawa.⁷⁸
 Buchanan, 113-118: Diligo legem tuam, sicut malos abominor.
Vnica es spes, vna verbis in tuis fiducia.
Vt Dei mandata seruem, hinc impii facessite.
 Me tuo sermone fulci, ne sequar spes irritas.
 Te regente saluus vsque iussa diligam tua.
 Perfugas calcas tuos, qui vana frustra cogitant.

⁷⁷ While the reference to the end of the Psalmist's life does occur in other translations, the reference to him striving for a goal or target is peculiar to Buchanan's version.

⁷⁸ It is likely that line 113 was modelled on Buchanan's version, for both poets reverse the order in which the two clauses appear in the biblical text. This influence is further demonstrated by the fact that both Kochanowski and Buchanan render the first verb in the present rather than the past tense, and refer to the Psalmist detesting wicked men rather than hating wicked thoughts, although both Campensis and the translator of the Vulgate text cite men as the object of this hatred (cf. Calvin: "Cogitationes *obliquas* odio habui, & Legem tuam dilexi"; Campensis: "Sceleratos odio habui: legem autem tuam amaui"; Vulgate: "Iniquos odio habui, & legem tuam dilexi").

The reference to God as the Psalmist's hope in line 114, rather than to the Psalmist placing his hope or trust in the Lord, and the reversal of the order in which the two clauses occur suggest that here too Kochanowski was influenced by Buchanan (cf. Calvin: "Latibulum meum & clypeus meus tu, in verbo tuo speraui"; Campensis: "Latibulum & scutum es mihi tu, quare in uerbis tuis totam spem meam collocaui"; Vulgate: "Adiutor & susceptor meus es tu, & in verbum tuum supersperaui"). The use of the optative "niech" rather than the indicative in line 115 also suggests the influence of Buchanan's version (cf. Calvin: "Declinate a me scelesti, & custodiam mandata Dei mei"; Vulgate: "Declinate a me maligne, & scrutabor mandata dei mei").

It is also probable that Kochanowski's rendering in the second part of line 116 is a free translation of Buchanan's version, for both poets omit the reference to the Psalmist being alive and make no mention of shame or the possibility of the Psalmist's confidence in God being misplaced (cf. Calvin: "Sustenta me in sermone tuo & viuam; & ne pudefacias me ab expectatione mea"; Vulgate: "Suscipe me secundum eloquium tuum & viuam, & non confundas me ab expectatione mea").

- 64 Psalm CXXIII, 2: Prózen i trosk ludzkich, i wszelkiej potrzeby:⁸¹
 Buchanan, 3: Contagio humanum remotus,
- 65 Psalm CXXIII, 12: A występów naszych łaskawie przebaczy.⁸²
 Buchanan, 10-12: [...] dum graues
 Iras remittas, seruulisque
Des veniam bonus atque pacem.
- 66 Psalm CXXIV, 2: Niechaj cne Izrahelskie potomstwo powie:
 Buchanan, 2: (Dicat Isaci propago) [...]
- 67 Psalm CXXIV, 9-12: Panu Bogu niechaj cześć będzie na wieki,
 Że nas raczył z ich srogiej wyrwać paszczeki.
Wywikłaliśmy się z ich sieci zdradliwych,
 Jako więc lichy ptaszek z ręki myśliwych.⁸³
 Buchanan, 11-14: Sempiterna laus Deo sit, qui suos non tradidit
 Dentibus prædam cruentis perfidarum gentium.
 Cassibus fractis dolosis sospites euasimus:
 Capta veluti iam volucris rete fugit aucupis.
- 68 Psalm CXXV, 9-12: Ani dopuści, żeby lud przeklęty
Wiecznie uciskać miał Jego zbór święty:
Aby snadź cnota nieszczęściem strapiona
Nie była jako nakoniec zgorszona.⁸⁴
 Buchanan, 13-16: Nec impiorum perpetuo iugo
Sinet piorum progeniem premi,
Ne turpibus contaminetur
 Flagitiis labefacta mentem.

⁸¹ While Kochanowski has not followed Buchanan's rendering precisely, the fact that both poets refer to the Psalmist being far from the cares or contagion of men — for which there is no corresponding passage in the biblical text, — strongly suggests that Kochanowski did make use of the Scot's translation here.

⁸² Although it is not certain that Kochanowski made use of Buchanan's translation in this line, the fact that both poets have added a second reference to God forgiving the transgressions of His servants, where the biblical text has only one, suggests that he did.

⁸³ The references to eternal praise and to the Israelites escaping from their enemies' traps rather than being delivered suggest that he made use of Buchanan's translation in these lines. It should be noted, however, that the latter reference might equally derive from Pagninus' translation (cf. Pagninus: "laqueus contritus est, & nos euasimus"; Calvin: "laqueus dissipatus est, & nos liberati sumus"; Vulgate: "Laqueus contritus est, & nos liberati sumus").

⁸⁴ While it is possible that lines 9-10 are a free translation of the biblical text (cf. Calvin: "Quia non quiescet sceptrum impiorum super sortem iustorum, [...]"; Campensis: "Quare non sinet sedem figere eum, qui scepro impietatis tyrannidem exerceat in ea loca, quæ veluti diuina sorte obuenerunt iustis: [...]"; Vulgate: "Quia non relinquet dominus virgam peccatorum super sortem iustorum, [...]"), Kochanowski's manner of expression in these lines recalls that of Buchanan's translation (cf. "Ani dopuści", "Wiecznie uciskać miał"; "Nec sinet", "perpetuo", "premi"), although he adheres more closely to the biblical text than does the Scot, who renders this passage passively.

- 69 Psalm CXXV, 14: A kto na drodze niepobożnych stanie,⁸⁵
 Buchanan, 19-20: De calle quos recti illecebris
 Impietas male sana flexit.
- 70 Psalm CXXVI, 10-12: Znak (powiada) niewątpliwy
Okazał Bóg światu wszemu,
 Że jest łaskaw ludu temu.
 Buchanan, 11-12: En pater ille Deum quot signa ostendit amoris!
Huius salutis gentis vsque vt prospicit!
- 71 Psalm CXXVII, 4: Próżno czuje straż po blankach wszędzie.⁸⁶
 Buchanan, 3-4: [...] incassum excubat
Muris vigil custodia.
- 72 Psalm CXXVII, 5-8: Próżno z domu przede dniem wychodzisz,
 Próżno mrokiem ostatnim przychodzisz:
Nie zarobisz ani pożywienia,
Nie będzie li z nieba wspomóżenia.⁸⁷
 Buchanan, 5-8: Frustra anteuertis mane solem, & vespere
Sero domum reuerteris:
Victum labore vix parabis anxio,
Ni Dominus admorit manum,
- 73 Psalm CXXVII, 11: Daje dziątek wdzięczne w domu roje:
 Buchanan, 11-12: Domumque dulci prole foetam liberum
 Præbebit. [...]
- 74 Psalm CXXVII, 13-14: Nie tak groźne, nie tak są straszliwe
 W ręku męskich strzały popędliwe,⁸⁸
 Buchanan, 15-16: Non sic timori est dexteram telis grauis
Bellator hostis hostibus,

⁸⁵ The reference to a path or road in line 14 suggests the influence of Buchanan's translation, although Kochanowski's manner of expression differs from the Scot's.

⁸⁶ It is very probable that Kochanowski made use of Buchanan's translation here, for no other translation refers to the place where the guard is to keep watch over the city.

⁸⁷ There is little doubt that Kochanowski modelled his rendering on Buchanan's in these lines, for no other translation contains all the details present in the Polish text. However, he has produced a free translation of the Scot's version, as can be seen by the reference to "mrokiem ostatnim" instead of "vespere / Sero", and by his rendering in line 8.

⁸⁸ The fact that Kochanowski introduces a negative comparison rather than a simile in these lines strongly suggests the influence of Buchanan.

- 75 Psalm CXXVII, 17-20: Szczęśliwy to między szczęśliwemi,
 Kto swój sajdak strzałami takimi
 Obwarował: gdy przed sadem stanie,
 I prawa mu, i serca dostanie.⁸⁹
- Buchanan, 19-22: O ter beatum & amplius qui talibus
Pharetram sagittis impleat.
 Non ad tribunal erubescet iurgia
 Procacis aduersarii.
- 76 Psalm CXXIX, 5-6: Grzbiety nam srodze orali
 Nieznośnemi plagami.⁹⁰
- Buchanan, 9-10: Terga sæuis exaruit
Verberum vibicibus:
- 77 Psalm CXXIX, 11-12: Potłukł pęta w swej srogości,
 A nas niewolej zbawił.⁹¹
- Buchanan, 13-16: Sed parens rerum benignus
Vincla rupit impia,
 Meque neruo liberauit
Seruitutis asperæ.
- 78 Psalm CXXIX, 15-20: Bodaj usechł, jako trawa
 W wierzchu muru twardego.
 Trawa, która nie czekała
Razu kosy siekającej:
 Ale przed czasem zniszczała
Ogniem gwiazdy gorącej.⁹²
- Buchanan, 21-26: Marceat, ceu sole marcet
 Herba languens torrido,
 Herba summis nata tectis,
 Quæ repente corrui
Ante falcis plagam acutæ,
 Aridis radicibus:

⁸⁹ While lines 17-19 might be a free translation of the biblical text, Kochanowski's rendering in line 17 appears to have been influenced by Buchanan's reference not to "beatus" but to "ter beatum". It is also possible that the reference to "sad" rather than "porta" in line 19 derives from either Calvin or Estienne (cf. Calvin: "Perinde ergo his de porta loquitur Solomon, acsi nunc quis Tribunal diceret, vel Curiam, vel Senatum"; Estienne: "Porta pro senatu & tribunali: quod in portis vrbium collocaretur tribunal"). However, the fact that Kochanowski's version contains both these details suggests that he based his rendering on Buchanan's translation.

⁹⁰ While the reference to the ungodly whipping the Psalmist is common to all translations of the Hebrew text, only Buchanan refers specifically to the lash (cf. Calvin: "Super dorsum meum arauerunt aratores, protraxerunt sulcos suos"; Campensis: "Dorso meo tantum oneris imposuerunt vt signa in eo apparuerint qualia aratores agris imprimere solent, & veluti sulcos longos induxerint").

⁹¹ While the Hebrew text refers to God breaking the ropes which bound the Psalmist (cf. Calvin: "Iehouah iustus confregit funes impiorum"; Campensis: "Sed dominus iustus rupit funes, quibus astinxerant impii me"), the fact that Kochanowski refers to chains rather than ropes, and to God freeing the Psalmist from captivity — for which there is no equivalent in the biblical text, — indicates that he made use of Buchanan's translation.

⁹² The references to the heat of the sun and to the scythe, for which there is no equivalent in the biblical text, clearly derive from Buchanan's version, although Kochanowski has reversed the order in which these details occur and his manner of expression differs somewhat from the Scot's.

- 79 Psalm CXXIX, 25-28: Ani, którzy przemijali
Czasu zbierania zboża:
Robotnikom winszowali,
Łaska nad wami Boża.
- Buchanan, 31-33: Nec viator ominatus
Prospera est metentibus,
Sic precatus, [...]
- 80 Psalm CXXX, 3-4: [...] racz smutne prośby moje
Przyjąć w łaskawe uszy swoje.
- Buchanan, 6-8: [...] applica
Intentam bonus aurem
Tristes ad querimonias.
- 81 Psalm CXXX, 15-20: Upatrza Twego smitowania,
Barziej niż nocna straż świtania.
Barziej niż nocna straż świtania
Pragnie duch Twego smitowania.
O Izrahelu, niech się dzieje
Co chce, ty w Panu kładź nadzieje.
- Buchanan, 21-25: Non sic pręcipiti nocte vigil diem
Obseruat roseum, non roseum vigil
Phœbi sic auet ortum
Vt flagrat mea mens Deum.
Securi in Domino figite spem pii,
- 82 Psalm CXXXI, 7-8: [...] równie więc tak licha
Dziecina zostawiona do matki swej wzdycha.
- Buchanan, 15-17: Qualis puer tenellus
Vix lacte pulsus, vnam
Suspirat in parentem,
- 83 Psalm CXXXI, 12: Kto nie chce być w nadziei swojej omylony.
- Buchanan, 29-30: [...] spem nec vnquam
Fouebitis caducam.

- 84 Psalm CXXXII, 3-8: Który Tobie w te słowa przysiągł swemu Bogu:
 Nie chcę ani nawiedzić pierwej swego progu,
 Ani na swym łożu leżę, ani oczu zmrużyć,
 Ani pożądnych darów snu słodkiego użyć:
 Aż plac najdę, Boże mój, Twemu kościołowi,
 I wymierzę świętemu miejsce ołtarzowi.⁹³
- Buchanan, 3-8: Ille tibi, Hebrææ gentis Deus vnice votis
 Obstrinxit caput, & promissis ora reclusit,
 Non ædes prius ingrediar, molliuē reponam
 Membra toro, aut oculis dulcem indulgebo soporem,
 Quam fanum inueniam, & sacri fundamina templi
 Designem, sanctisque locum dimetiar aris.
- 85 Psalm CXXXII, 9-10: Ale oto w Ephracie Pan je znaki swemi
 Jawnie okazał, miedzy padóły leśnemi.
- Buchanan, 9-11: Ecce mihi, patriis subito dum versor in aruis,
 Et iuga dum peragro syluestribus obsita dumis,
 Monstrauit Deus ipse locum. [...]
- 86 Psalm CXXXII, 23-24: I oni, i dzieci ich, i tychże dziedzice
 Na wieki nie wypadną z ojcowskiej stolice.⁹⁴
- Buchanan, 28-29: Nulla dies solio, vis nulla extrudet auito,
 Et natos natorum, & qui nascentur ab illis.

⁹³ It is probable that Kochanowski made use of Buchanan's rendering in these lines, for the biblical text, which presents only the protasis of a future conditional clause, seems incomplete. For without the apodosis, the result of the conditions set out in verses 3-4 is not expressed (cf. Calvin: "Si introiero in tabernaculum domus meæ, si ascendero super stratum lecti mei, Si dederō somnum oculis meis, palpebris meis domitationem: Donec inuenero locum Iehouæ, habitacula forti Iacob"; Vulgate: "Si introiero in tabernaculum domus meæ, si ascendero in lectum strati mei. Si dederō somnum oculis meis, & palpebris meis domitationem. Et requiem temporibus meis, donec inueniam locum domino, tabernaculum deo Iacob"). The influence is further suggested by the reference to measuring out the altars, for which there is no equivalent in the biblical text.

It should be noted that both of these features — the decision to render this passage as a negative rather than as a conditional statement, and the reference to the altar, — are present in Campensis' translation. However, the fact that Kochanowski refers to David measuring out a place for the altar rather than to building it suggests that he probably based his rendering on Buchanan's version.

⁹⁴ While the reference to David's grandchildren might equally derive from Campensis' translation (cf. Campensis: "[...] filiorum tuorum nepotes, & qui nascentur vltio tempore ab illis, in eodem regni solio propter te sedebunt"), the fact that Kochanowski uses the phrase "ojcowskiej stolice" suggests that he modelled his rendering in these lines on Buchanan's translation (line 29: "solio auito").

- 87 Psalm CXXXII, 25-26: Sion sie mnie podoba: to moje mieszkanie:
To jest mój odpoczynek, i wieczne kochanie.⁹⁵
- Buchanan, 30-31: Ipse mihi sedem elegi sine fine Sionem,
Quam colerem: hic mihi certa quies, hic certa voluptas:
- 88 Psalm CXXXIII, 1-4: Jako rzecz piękna, jako rzecz przyjemna
Patrzeć, gdzie miłość panuje wzajemna:
A bracia sformi w szczerzej uprzejmości
Strzeżą jedności.⁹⁶
- Buchanan, 1-2: Nil charitate mutua fratrum, nihil
Iucundus concordia.
- 89 Psalm CXXXIII, 5-6: Nie tak jest wdzięczny olej balsamowy
Świeżo wyłany na włos Aronowy:
- Buchanan, 3-4: Non aura suavis balsami, quum funditur
Aronis in sacrum caput,
- 90 Psalm CXXXIII, 13-16: Bo kędy zgoda święta przemieszkawa,
Tam Pan niebieski wszystko dobre dawa,
Wzbudając zawsze na miejsce ojcowe
Potomstwo nowe.⁹⁷
- Buchanan, 11-14: Fraterna quam pax incolit domum, iuuat
Dominus benigna dextera,
Et opibus auget: filiorum & filios
Multis propagat sæculis.
- 91 Psalm CXXXIV, 3: Teraz jako to noc milczy, [...]
- Buchanan, 3-4: Laudate Dominum, laudibus donec sacro
Nox annuit silentio.

⁹⁵ While the details contained in these lines are present in the biblical text, Kochanowski's rendering does not agree with any one of the Latin translations of the text (cf. Calvin: "Quoniam elegit Iehoua Sion, dilexit eam in sedem sibi. Hæc requie mea in æternum, hic habitabo: quia dilexi eam"; Campensis: "Elegit enim dominus Sion: sic amaui eam, vt habitare constituerit in ea. Hic erit inquiens locus ad quiescendum mihi perpetuo: hic habitabo, quia amaui eam"; Vulgate: "Quoniam elegit dominus Sion, elegit eam in habitationem sibi. Hæc requies mea in seculum seculi, hic habitabo quoniam elegi eam"). Rather, it appears from his use of nouns ("mieszkanie", "odpoczynek", "kochanie") that Kochanowski modelled his rendering on Buchanan's version ("odpoczynek", "kochanie"). This influence is further suggested by the fact that Kochanowski purports to present God's words in both verse 13 and verse 14, rather than only in verse 14.

⁹⁶ It is possible that Kochanowski made use of Campensis' translation in these lines ("Dici non potest quam bona sit res & suavis, habitare vna fratres inter se concordēs"), although the fact that he refers not only to harmony (line 4), but also to mutual love, suggests that he probably based his rendering on Buchanan's version.

⁹⁷ Lines 13-14 are a free translation of Buchanan's translation or of Estienne's note ("[...] curat vt vbi est vera fraternitas, omnes ipsius beneficentia fruantur"). However, the reference to children in lines 15-16 is clearly a free translation of Buchanan's rendering, for it does not occur in any other text. Thus it is likely that Kochanowski also made use of the Scot's version in lines 13-14.

- 92 Psalm CXXXV, 3: Wy, którym domu Jego straż podana,
 Buchanan, 1: Vos quibus est sacri custodia credita templi,
- 93 Psalm CXXXV, 11-12: Ten z lochów ziemskich obłoki wyciąga,
 I po powietrzu szerokim rościąga.⁹⁸
 Buchanan, 13-14: [...] de viscere terræ
 Euocat & liquido suspendit in ære nubes:
- 94 Psalm CXXXV, 17-20: Na króla nawiódł cuda niesłychane,
 Trapiąc samego, i jego poddane.
 Siła narodów, siła miast wyrócił
 Sławnych, [...] ⁹⁹
 Buchanan, 18-21: [...] regemque superbum,
 Et quicumque bibunt septemflua flumina Nili,
 Terruit ostentis: validis ille oppida muris
 Turrita euertit: [...]
- 95 Psalm CXXXV, 32: [...] nozdra tchu nie mają.¹⁰⁰
 Buchanan, 37-38: Et patulas frustra nares iucundus odorum
 Halitus incursat: [...]
- 96 Psalm CXXXVI, 11-14: Który wynurzył ziemię z morskich głębokości,
 Bo końca nigdy Pańskiej nie będzie litości.
 Który zażęł na niebie światła niezgaszone,
 Bo Pańskie dobrodziejstwo nie jest okrażone.
 Buchanan, 11-14: Qui liquidis terras emergere iussit ab vndis,
 Larga benignus semper indulgentia.
 Qui vitreo accendit flammantia lumina cælo,
 Larga benignus semper indulgentia.

98 The reference to underground caves might also derive from Campensis' translation ("Qui extrahit nubes e terra infima parte orbis, & in ære loco æditissimo collocat eas: {...}").

99 While I can find no precedent for "Trapiąc" in line 18, it seems likely that Kochanowski is providing a free translation of Buchanan's reference to God terrifying Pharaoh and the Egyptians. This influence is further suggested by the reference to the destruction of cities (lines 19-20) for which there is no equivalent in the biblical text.

100 This might equally derive from Campensis' translation ("[...] nares quoque sine vsu, quum nullus appareat halitus in ore cuiusquam illarum") for, while the biblical text states that although these idols have mouths they do not breathe, both Buchanan and Campensis refer instead to their nostrils. It is likely that Kochanowski based his rendering on Buchanan's version, for Campensis goes on to mention the statues' mouths in the second part of this verse.

- 97 Psalm CXXXVI, 33-36: Który Tyranny pobił, i króle waleczne,
Bo Jego dobrodziejstwa są, i będą wieczne.
Króla Amorrejskiego meźnego Seona,
Bo Jego wieczna łaska nie jest zamierzona.¹⁰¹
- Buchanan, 31-34: Et validos merita prostrauit clade tyrannos,
Larga benignus semper indulgentia.
Strauit Amorrhæum valida virtute Seonem,
Larga benignus semper indulgentia.
- 98 Psalm CXXXVI, 39: I dał nowym przychodniom ich bogate kraje,
Buchanan, 37: Metatusque nouis agrum est vtriusque colonis,
- 99 Psalm CXXXVIII, 6-7: Bo Ty obietnice swoje
Skutkiem zawždy przesiężesz: [...] ¹⁰²
- Buchanan, 7: Qui promissa nouis donis cumulata rependis:
- 100 Psalm CXXXVIII, 11-13: Ciebie, jako szerokie ziemskie są granice,
Twoje słysząc obietnice,
Wszyscy królowie beda swoim Bogiem zwali, ¹⁰³
- Buchanan, 10-13: Te, quacunq̃ue patet tellus circumflua ponto,
Reges fatebuntur Deum,
Quum sin labe fidem
Audierint: [...]
- 101 Psalm CXXXVIII, 19-20: Niechaj na mię przygoda, jaka chce, przypadnie:
Ty mnie poratujesz snadnie. ¹⁰⁴
- Buchanan, 19-21: [...] discrimina mille
Passim mihi circumstrepant:
Te duce tutus ero.
- 102 Psalm CXXXIX, 1-2: Tobie rządca niebieski, Tobie mój Boże,
Rzecz namniejsza skryta być we mnie nie może: ¹⁰⁵
- Buchanan, 1-2: Momenta vitæ nulla te latent meæ,
Rector benigne cælitum.

¹⁰¹ It seems likely that the reference to tyrants in line 31 owes something to Buchanan's rendering. This influence is further suggested by the reference to Sihon's valour in line 35.

¹⁰² This might equally derive from Campensis's translation, for he also refers to God surpassing His promises ("[...] & constantiam tuam in seruandis promissis: multo nanque plura quam tu verbis tuis promiseras, præstitit nobis augustissimum illud nomen tuum").

¹⁰³ Although Kochanowski's rendering in line 13 might equally derive from Campensis' translation ("Fatebuntur te esse dominum omnes reges terræ: [...]"). the fact that he refers to the size of the earth in line 11 indicates that he probably based his rendering on Buchanan's version.

¹⁰⁴ While it is not certain that Kochanowski based his rendering in these lines on Buchanan's translation, his manner of expression — and in particular the use of the third person imperative — recalls the Scot's version.

¹⁰⁵ Although Kochanowski's rendering differs from Buchanan's, it is apparent that his manner of expression is similar to that of the Scot (cf. Calvin: "Iehoua explorasti me, & cognoscis"; Vulgate: "Domine probasti me & cognouisti me, [...]").

- 103 Psalm CXXXIX, 11-12: Coś tak misternie sprawił, wieczny mój Boże,
 Że tego żaden rozum pojąć nie może.
- Buchanan, 9-12: Et os & humeros, totiusque corporis
 Sic arte mira fabricam
 Finxisti, acumen nullum vt humani ingeni,
 Ratiove possit assequi.
- 104 Psalm CXXXIX, 13-14: Gdzie mam uciec przed duchem Twym przeraźliwym?
 Gdzie sie skryć przed obliczem Twoim straszliwym?¹⁰⁶
- Buchanan, 13-14: Quonam ergo vultum fugero tuum? quibus
 Clausus latebris ocular?
- 105 Psalm CXXXIX, 23-24: [...] noc naciemniejsza
 U Ciebie nad połudne światło jasniejsza.¹⁰⁷
- Buchanan, 23-24: Obscura tenebris nostra nox luce est tibi
 Meridiana clarior.
- 106 Psalm CXXXIX, 25-27: Cma Tobie nic nie zaćmi: noc, i ciemności
 Wszystkie są przeźrocyste Twej opatrności.
 Ty myśli wiesz, Ty moje znasz tajemnice,
- Buchanan, 25-28: Tibi nec tenebræ sunt tenebræ, nec tuæ
 Nox vlla providentiæ est.
 Arcana mentis tu tenes, qui pectoris
 Arcana fabricatus es.
- 107 Psalm CXXXIX, 29-30: Ten związek tak misterny ciała naszego
 Cud jest niewysłowiony rozumu Twego.
- Buchanan, 31-32: Compago mira corporis nostri, tuæ
 Miraculum est solertiæ.

¹⁰⁶ Kochanowski's choice of verbs might equally have been influenced by Campensis' translation ("Quo abire hinc potero: vt fugiam notitiam tuam? & quo fugere potero, vt conspectum tuum lateam?"). However, Kochanowski's rendering does not fully agree with either of these translations.

¹⁰⁷ It is possible that Kochanowski based his rendering in these lines on Calvin's commentary ("Sed hoc quoque vanum fore dicit: quia non minus acute cernat Deus in densissimis tenebris, quam in meridie"). However, his manner of expression in line 24 ("jasniejsza") suggests that he probably based his rendering on the Scot's version.

- 108 Psalm CXXXIX, 37-40: Tyś pierwsza bryła ciała, początki małe,
I linije człowieka niedoskonałe
 Widział: Tyś miał w swych księgach, co dnia którego
Przyrósł miało, aniś tam chybił żadnego.¹⁰⁸
- Buchanan, 39-44: Massæ recentis rudia adhuc primordia,
 Rudisque massæ semina,
 Ceu scripta haberes, corporisque lineas,
 Motum statumque noueras.
 Et membra nondum quum forent, quid adderent
Dies sciebas singuli.
- 109 Psalm CXXXIX, 43: Rychlej piasek we wszystkich morzach zrachuje.¹⁰⁹
- Buchanan, 49-50: Citius inibo numerum, arenæ in littore
 Quot voluat æstus corpora:
- 110 Psalm CXXXIX, 48: A Twojej wszeczmocności nie uważają.¹¹⁰
- Buchanan, 55-56: A me repelles, qui scelesti nomini
 Et numini illudunt tuo.
- 111 Psalm CXL, 1-2: Broń mie mój Panie, od ludzi złośliwych,
Broń od potwarców sprosnych niewstydlivych.¹¹¹
- Buchanan, 1-4: Æterne rerum conditor, a malæ
 Linguae veneno me bonus assere,
 Meamque periuri tuere
 Hostis ab insidiis salutem,
- 112 Psalm CXL, 13: Tyś mój obrońca: [...]
- Buchanan, 13: At tu, salutis præsidium meæ,

¹⁰⁸ It is apparent that Kochanowski's reference to the lines of the Psalmist's body before God shaped it derives from Buchanan's rendering rather than from the biblical text, for the biblical text mentions only the shapeless lump from which his body was formed (cf. Calvin: "Informe meum viderunt oculi tui, [...]"; Vulgate: "Imperfectum meum viderunt oculi tui, [...]").

¹⁰⁹ This might equally derive from Campensis' translation ("Si enim numerare coner ea, facilius arenas numerauero, quæ iacent in littoribus maris: [...]"), although "Rychlej" is closer to Buchanan's rendering than to Campensis'.

¹¹⁰ It is likely that Kochanowski derived his reference to God's omnipotence from Buchanan's version, for the Hebrew text refers to the wicked taking God's name in vain (cf. Calvin: "[...] sumpserunt mendaciter aduersarii tui"; Campensis: "[...] & vsurpabant contemptum nomen tuum hostes tui"; Pagninus: "[...] assumpserunt in vanum hostes tui"), while the Vulgate text contains a reference to cities ("[...] accipiant in vanitate ciuitates suas").

¹¹¹ It seems likely that Kochanowski based his rendering on Buchanan's version, for the biblical text makes no mention of slanderers. Moreover, the Vulgate text contains an imprecation for God to free the Psalmist, while the Hebrew text exhorts Him to protect the Psalmist only in the second part of the verse (cf. Calvin: "Eripe me lehoua ab homine improbo, a viro iniuriarum custodi me"; Campensis: "Libera me domine ab homine malo, contra virum sceleratum protege me"; Vulgate: "Eripe me domine ab homine malo, a viro iniquo eripe me"). The fact that Kochanowski not only refers to slanderers, but also uses the imperative "Broń" in both lines suggests the influence of Buchanan.

- 113 Psalm CXL, 21: Niech żywy ogień z nieba spadnie na nie,¹¹²
 Buchanan, 21-22: Deiecta cælo flammea perfidos
 Procella fundat præcipiti fuga,
- 114 Psalm CXLI, 1: Ciebie ojcze wzywam łaskawy, [...]
 Buchanan, 1: Aurem vocanti da parens propere, [...]
- 115 Psalm CXLI, 5-8: Chciejże naprzód język mój zapieczętować,
 A pod strażą, Panie, usta moje chować:
 Chciejże także umysł obracać ku cnocie,
 Aby sie nie chylił namniej ku sromocie.¹¹³
 Buchanan, 9-12: Fræno coerce linguam: ad oris ianuam
 Fac excubet custodia.
 Fac mens sequatur recta: fac in lubricam
 Ne flectat erroris viam.
- 116 Psalm CXLI, 15-20: [...] i owszem proszę zawżdy Pana,
Aby złość ich była widomie karana.
 Sędziowie niewierni, zdrajce przetożeni,
 Bodaj z ostrej skały na szyję zrzuceni
 Świata dokonali: a tam więc wspomnieli,
 Jako zdrowe słowa ode mnie słyszeli.¹¹⁴
 Buchanan, 17-20: [...] impii, precor
 Et impiorum præsides,
De rupis altæ quum ruent specula, sui
Supplicia sceleris vt luant.
Tum subeat animum conscium, salubriter
 Quod me monentem spreuerint.

¹¹² The reference to the origin of these flames may not be significant, for it is implicit in the biblical text (cf. Calvin: "Cadant super eos carbones cum igne: [...]"; Campensis: "Cadant in eos carbones igniti, [...]"; Vulgate: "Cadent super eos carbones, in ignem deices eos, [...]").

¹¹³ While the imprecation in line 5 might equally derive from Campensis' translation ("Adhibe domine frenum ori meo, & custodiam ianuæ labiorum meorum. Ne sinas animum meum propensum fieri ad maledicentiam, nec studiis delectari cum impietate coniunctis [...]") — although Campensis, in keeping with the biblical text, refers to the Psalmist's mouth rather than his tongue, — Kochanowski's manner of expression in line 7 is closer to Buchanan's version, for the Psalmist beseeches God to make him follow that which is virtuous rather than, as in the biblical text, to shun that which is wicked.

¹¹⁴ Kochanowski adheres more closely to the biblical text than does Buchanan, who runs verses 5 and 6 together, and changes the order in which the references to punishment and to the rock occur. However, it is still possible to see a number of instances of coincidence between the two versions. While the imprecation for the wicked to be punished (lines 15-16) could derive from either Calvin's commentary or Estienne's note, and the reference to the leaders of the wicked (line 17) could derive from Estienne's note, and the reference to them being cast from a rock rather than onto rocks (line 18) could derive from Calvin's commentary or Campensis' translation, the fact that both Kochanowski and Buchanan cite all three of these details suggests that he derived his rendering from the Scot's version. It is probable that the references to memory and to beneficial words in lines 19-20 are a free translation of Buchanan's rendering.

- 117 Psalm CXLI, 21-23: Jako łomną ziemię pługiem rozsypują,
Tak się we mnie kości moje rozstępują
Strachem srogiej śmierci: [...] ¹¹⁵
- Buchanan, 23-25: Sic mortis horror ossium compagines
Mihi laxat, vt cæsæ iacent
Fagi per arua cuneis fragmina.
- 118 Psalm CXLI, 25: Strzeż mnie od fortelów ludzi nieżyczliwych, ¹¹⁶
- Buchanan, 29-30: Vitam tuere ab impiorum cassibus,
A fraude quam struunt mihi.
- 119 Psalm CXLII, 2-4: Rece swe k Niemu wynoszę:
Przed Nim krzywdę swą przekładam,
Jemu żał swój opowiadam. ¹¹⁷
- Buchanan, 1-3: [...] manusque
Tendo ad sydera supplices.
Mentis huic pando lacrymas: [...]
- 120 Psalm CXLII, 23-24: Wyrwi mnie z ręki ciężkiemu
Nieprzyjacielowi memu.
- Buchanan, 21: Assere a sæui manibus tyranni,
- 121 Psalm CXLIII, 3-4: Według swej prawdy, według swej litości,
Racz mnie ratować w mojej doległości. ¹¹⁸
- Buchanan, 3-4: [...] quaque soles fide
Et æquitate, ab hostibus eripe.

¹¹⁵ The reference to the fear of death might equally derive from Campensis' translation ("Sicut qui amputant arbores, & findunt ligna, & per terram spargunt huc atque illuc, quæ amputata sunt sic ossa nostra dispersa fuerunt & soluta præ metu mortis: [...]").

¹¹⁶ It is likely that Kochanowski derived the reference to artifices from Buchanan's rendering, although it might equally be a free translation of the biblical text which refers to concealed snares and nets.

¹¹⁷ There is little doubt that the reference to hands, for which there is no equivalent in the biblical text, derives from Buchanan's rendering. The influence of Buchanan's translation is further suggested by the fact that Kochanowski refers to sorrow in line 4 rather than to trouble or affliction.

¹¹⁸ Although the reference to mercy suggests the influence of Campensis' translation in these lines ("Domine exaudi precatonem meam pro optima fide & æquitate tua: quia semper habes cum summa clementia coniunctam responde desiderio meo"), the fact that the Psalmist prays for God to save him rather than to hear his prayer suggests that Kochanowski made use of Buchanan's rendering.

- 122 Psalm CXLIII, 6-8: [...] żaden człowiek żywy
Tak święty nie jest, aby na Twym sądzie
Nie miał być w jakim wytkniony nierządzie.¹¹⁹
- Buchanan, 6-8: [...] nemo hominum innocens
Sic est, tribunal possit ad tuum
Se profiteri crimine liberum.
- 123 Psalm CXLIII, 9-12: Oto zły człowiek trapi moję duszę,
A ja w jaskiniach ślepych mieszkać muszę,
Światła nie znając: rowien umarłemu
Pod niewidomą ziemię włożonemu.
- Buchanan, 9-12: En, hostis atrox imminet, & premit
Stratum: tenebris tristibus abditus,
E lucis exors dego, velut specu
Quos in sepulchri mors fera condidit.
- 124 Psalm CXLIII, 29-30: Wyrwi mię z ręki nieprzyjaciół srogich,
Obrońco smutnych, [...]
- Buchanan, 29-30: Ab hoste sæuo protege me, meæ
Custos salutis: [...]
- 125 Psalm CXLIII, 36: A użyj zwykłej nade mną litości.¹²⁰
- Buchanan, 41: Fauoris vmbra me solita tege:
- 126 Psalm CXLIV, 5-8: Że nad nieprzyjacioły górę mam swojemi,
Że sławny słynę między obcemi:
Że miastom, i walecznym narodom panuję,
Wszystko to łasce Twej przypisuję.¹²¹
- Buchanan, 5-8: Quod viuo & valeo, tutus & hostium
A fraude eximia fulgeo gloria:
Quod late validis impero gentibus,
Totum muneris id tui est.
- 127 Psalm CXLIV, 11: Mara człowiek: [...]¹²²
- Buchanan, 13-14: [...] neque
Quæ mentes agitant somnia turbidas,

¹¹⁹ While the reference to God's tribunal or court suggests the influence of Buchanan's translation, Kochanowski's manner of expression recalls Campensis' rendering ("[...] nemo est enim viventium, qui sic iustus sit: vt non multa tu in eo verissime reprehendere possis").

¹²⁰ This line, which has no equivalent in the biblical text, appears to be a free translation of Buchanan's version.

¹²¹ It is apparent that Kochanowski has made use of Buchanan's text in these lines, which differ significantly from the biblical text (cf. Calvin: "Beneficentia mea, & munitio mea, arx mea, & liberator meus mihi, clypeus meus, & in ipso speravi, subiiciens populum meum sub me"; Vulgate: "Misericordia mea & refugium meum, susceptor meus & liberator meus. Protector meus & in ipso speravi, qui subdit populum meum sub me").

¹²² The fact that Kochanowski refers to man as a dream rather than a shadow, as in the biblical text (cf. Calvin, Campensis, Vulgate: "vmbra"), indicates that he is following Buchanan here.

- 128 Psalm CXLIV, 38: Ani ogromnej trąby słychamy
 Buchanan, 46: Nec tristi resonent compia classico
- 129 Psalm CXLVI, 9-12: Skoro duch wynidzie z ciała,
 Ziemia ziemię będzie brała:
 A nasze płone nadzieje
Po powietrzu dma rozwieje.
 Buchanan, 9-12: Vt membra liquit spiritus, in suam
 Terrena moles terram abit: & diu
 Consulta vanescunt, & auras
Irrita per vacuas feruntur.
- 130 Psalm CXLVII, 3-4: Miasto Jerozolimskie On znowu sadi,
 A wygnańce do własnych domów prowadzi.¹²³
 Buchanan, 3-4: Qui Solymam instaurat rursus, passimque per orbem
 Sparsos reducit exules Abramidas.
- 131 Psalm CXLVII, 5-6: On smutne serca cieszy, troski lekuje,
Rany wiąże, boleści wszelkie ujmuje.¹²⁴
 Buchanan, 5-6: Qui fractos animi leuat, & corda anxia lenit:
Mulcet dolores, mitigatque vulnera.
- 132 Psalm CXLVII, 38-40: Ten oznajmił zakon swój Izrahelowi.
 Zadnemu narodowi Pan się nie stawiał
Tak łaskawie, [...]
 Buchanan, 38-39: Legesque Abrami tradidit nepotibus.
 Non ita se populis aliis monstravit amicum,
- 133 Psalm CXLVIII, 31: Wolne rzeczypopolite,
 Buchanan, 42: Et nationes liberae,
- 134 Psalm CXLVIII, 33: I ty kwitnaca młodości,
 Buchanan, 45-46: Et vos iuuenta florea
 Læti puelli & virgines,

¹²³ It is equally possible that Kochanowski derived his rendering in these lines from Campensis' translation ("Extruit enim Hierusalem dominus, exules populi Israelitici dispersos congregabit"), although his manner of expression in line 3 is closer to Buchanan's version.

¹²⁴ It seems likely that Kochanowski derived his rendering from Buchanan's translation rather than the biblical text, which contains only two details (cf. Calvin: "Sanans contritos corde, & colligans dolores eorum"; Vulgate: "Qui sanat contritos corde, & alligat contritiones eorum"). However, he has reversed the order in which the two clauses in line 6 occur. The reference to binding wounds in line 6 appears to derive either from Pagninus' translation or from the Vulgate text (cf. Pagninus: "& alligat dolores eorum"; Vulgate: "& alligat contritiones eorum").

- 135 Psalm CXLIX, 2: Chwała Jego niechaj brzmi między dobremi.
 Buchanan, 2-3: [...] sonet laus illius
 Coetus per omnes [...]
- 136 Psalm CXLIX, 14: A wielkomyslną hardość w ziemię tłoczyli.
 Buchanan, 27-28: Et in futurum iras, minas,
Superbiamque comprimant.
- 137 Psalm CXLIX, 16: I w okowach chowali przednie książęta.¹²⁵
 Buchanan, 31-32: Et ferreis coerceant
 Vinculis feroces principes.
- (b) Flaminus.
 (c) Hesus.
 (d) Spinula.

There is no evidence to suggest that Kochanowski made use of the translations by Flaminus, Hesus or Spinula in this book.

¹²⁵ While we find something similar in Campensis' translation ("[...] & primates eorum vinculis ferreis"), Kochanowski's rendering is closer to Buchanan's version.

6.6.1: Analysis: Books 4 and 5

While the statistics show that Kochanowski's use of Pagninus' translation and Estienne's notes is not significantly different from normal,¹²⁶ there is a definite reduction in his use of Calvin's commentary¹²⁷ and the Vulgate text¹²⁸ in Books 4 and 5. Moreover, this downward trend is extended in Book 5 to include the translations by Calvin (down to 4.5%) and Pagninus (down to 2.3%). At the same time, there is an unprecedentedly large number of Psalms in Book 5 in which there is no evidence to suggest that Kochanowski used Buchanan's paraphrases.¹²⁹

Book 4										
Psalm	Prose Translations				Commentaries		Verse Translations			
	Calvin	Camp	Pagn.	Vulg.	Calvin	Est.	Buch.	Flam.	Hess.	Spin.
XC		2				2	5			
XCI	1	2	1	1			2			
XCII		1					3			
XCIII		1					1			
XCIV			1		2	1	3			
XCV	1	3					3			
XCVI		6					3			
XCVII				1	1		6			
XCVIII							3			
XCIX		3				1	4			
C		1					3			
CI							2			
CII		2		3	4	2	4			
CIII				2			2			
CIV		5		2	2		7			
CV		4			4		12			
CVI	1	4			1	1	12			

¹²⁶ Passages in which Kochanowski's rendering is similar to Pagninus' translation can be found in 11.8% of the Psalms in Book 4, compared with 12.2% of those in Book 1 and 12.9% of those in Book 2. The influence of Estienne's notes can be found in 29.4% of the Psalms in this book, compared with 19.5% of those in Book 1, 38.7% of those in Book 2 and 36.4% of those in Book 5.

¹²⁷ Kochanowski used Calvin's commentary in 73.2% of the Psalms in Book 1, 58.1% of those in Book 2, 58.8% of those in Book 3, but only in 35.3% of those in Book 4 and 29.5% of those in Book 5.

¹²⁸ Kochanowski's reliance on the Vulgate text has diminished slightly from book to book. He used this text in 52.3% of the Psalms in Book 1, 43.4% of those in Book 2 and 41.2% of those in Book 3, but only in 29.4% of those in Book 4 and 18.2% of those in Book 5.

¹²⁹ Buchanan's paraphrases are virtually all-pervasive. Indeed, there are only four Psalms out of the first seventy-two (Psalms 1, 15, 62 and 70) in which his influence cannot be seen, and Kochanowski appears to have used his translations to varying degrees in every Psalm in Books 3 and 4. However, in Book 5, there are seven Psalms (108, 115, 122, 128, 137, 145 and 150) in which there are no striking similarities between Kochanowski's rendering and Buchanan's version.

Book 5										
Psalm	Prose Translations				Commentaries		Verse Translations			
	Calvin	Camp	Pagn.	Vulg.	Calvin	Est.	Buch.	Flam.	Hess.	Spin.
CVII	1	2		2	2		9			
CVIII		4				1				
CIX		4	1	1			4			
CX						1	2			
CXI		2				1	2			
CXII					1		3			
CXIII						1	1			
CXIV							2			
CXV		1				2				
CXVI		1		1	1	1	3			
CXVII							1			
CXVIII		2			1	1	10			
CXIX	1	8		1	2	4	22			
CXX					2	1	3			
CXXI		3					1			
CXXII					1					
CXXIII		1					2			
CXXIV							2			
CXXV							2			
CXXVI				1			1			
CXXVII							5			
CXXVIII		1								
CXXIX		1					4			
CXXX		2			2		2			
CXXXI						1	2			
CXXXII		3			1		4			
CXXXIII							3			
CXXXIV							1			
CXXXV				1			4			
CXXXVI		1					3			
CXXXVII				1	1	1				
CXXXVIII		1				1	3			
CXXXIX					1	1	9			
CXL		1		2			3			
CXLI							5			
CXLII		2					2			
CXLIII		3				1	5			
CXLIV		1			1		3			
CXLV		2				2				
CXLVI		2			2		1			
CXLVII						1	3			
CXLVIII							2			
CXLIX		1					3			
CL		1								

Had this downturn been restricted to Kochanowski's use of exegetical works, it could have been argued that there are fewer obscure passages in Books 4 and 5 than in previous Psalms. But he continues to make significant use of Estienne's notes (29.4% and 36.4%).

Similarly the unusually large number of Psalms in Book 5 which were not influenced by Buchanan's paraphrases might suggest either that Kochanowski was striving for greater independence in his manner of expression or, perhaps, that these Psalms were translated before he had decided to use Buchanan as his principal model for imitation. The latter hypothesis has the advantage of accounting for a similar absence of passages derived from Buchanan in the four Psalms in Books 1 and 2 referred to above. However, doubt is cast on this hypothesis by the dates of individual Psalms in Book 5.¹³⁰

Nor does this hypothesis account for the reduction in Kochanowski's use of prose translations of the biblical text. Given that *Psałterz Dawidów* is a translation, Kochanowski must have had a text from which to work. This leaves us with the possibility that Kochanowski was, by this stage, less heavily reliant on his sources and that his rendering is somewhat more free than in previous books. This free treatment of sources can be seen throughout *Psałterz Dawidów*, and is common to all types of text (prose translations, commentaries and verse paraphrases). Indeed, it is precisely this feature that has complicated the task of identifying those texts which Kochanowski used.

¹³⁰ Dobrzycki asserts that Psalms 100 and 116 were translated in or before 1571, while Psalm 128 was written in or about 1575. If we accept that translations of the Psalms sometimes contain extra-textual references, i.e. were written in such a way that the text is relevant to contemporary events, then Psalm 128 is certainly such a Psalm. The references to a republic and to concord in line 21 of Psalm 128 ("W rzeczypospolitej zgodę, / I całą ujrzę swobodę:") certainly suggest that Kochanowski worked on this Psalm after selecting Buchanan as his principal model. Indeed, the term "rzeczpospolita", coined in 1569, the year in which the 'Noble republic' was established by the Treaty of Lublin, suggests that Kochanowski probably worked on this Psalm after this date. It is my opinion, however, that the reference to concord ("zgodę") in this line, for which there is no apparent justification in the biblical text (cf. Calvin: "& videbis bonum Ierusalem omnibus diebus vitæ tuæ"; Vulgate: "& videas bona Ierusalem omnibus diebus vitæ tuæ") denotes The Statute of General Toleration of 1573, and that this is a more likely date for the composition of this Psalm.

However, these are the only three Psalms in Books 4 and 5 for which there is any evidence which might allow us to date them. It would be extremely foolhardy, therefore, to attempt to make any conclusions on the basis of such meagre evidence, especially as Kochanowski did use Buchanan's paraphrase in two of the three Psalms (100 and 116).

This seems the most likely explanation, then, for the reduction in the number of passages in which it is possible to determine the source of Kochanowski's rendering in Books 4 and 5, although the number of passages of unknown origin is not significantly higher relative to the length of the book than in previous books.¹³¹

However, this does not alter the fact that Kochanowski still made considerable use of other texts (specifically, Calvin's commentary, Campensis' translation, Estienne's notes, and Buchanan's paraphrases) in these books. Indeed, the evidence set out in this chapter clearly proves not only that Kochanowski used certain sources and models to aid his translation, and that these texts can be identified, but also that his reliance on these works is greater than has previously been realised.¹³²

¹³¹ There are 214 such passages of differing lengths in Book 4 and 337 in Book 5. However, the number of such passages in Book 4, which contains 391 lines of verse, is not significantly greater than that for Book 3 (411 passages), which contains 411 lines of verse. The higher number of passages in Book 5 can be partly explained with reference to the greater number of lines in that book (729), although many of the passages (in particular those in Psalm 119) are rather longer than those in other books.

¹³² Sienicki, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-59, cites 308 passages in which he has discerned the influence of Buchanan's translation, while there are thirty-three Psalms (Psalms 5, 6, 10, 11, 14, 15, 23, 24, 62, 64, 70, 85, 91, 96-101, 103, 108, 113, 117, 120, 121, 123, 124, 131, 137, 140, 145, 149 and 150) in which he can find no evidence to suggest that Kochanowski used Buchanan's translation.

While Dobrzycki (*op. cit.*, pp. 80-81) questions Sienicki's assertions, his tendency to see the influence of Campensis or Pagninus in passages where Sienicki saw the influence of Buchanan has led to an overall reduction in the number of passages. However, the evidence set out in this chapter indicates that there are only eleven Psalms in which Kochanowski appears not to have used the Scot's rendering, and in the remaining Psalms we find 545 passages in which Kochanowski's version is similar to Buchanan's.

However, Kochanowski's greater reliance on his sources is most notable with regard to the role of Calvin's commentary. Far from being a minor source, used in only five passages in the whole of *Psałterz Dawidów* (see Dobrzycki, *ibid.*, pp. 50 and 55), this commentary is the principal exegetical work used by Kochanowski, and its influence can be found in 137 passages.

Conclusion

This thesis has examined *Psałterz Dawidów* in order to gain a clearer understanding of how and why it was written. It is clear from the available evidence that Kochanowski's work on the Psalms was supported by his patron Piotr Myszkowski and by the Primate of Poland, Jakub Uchański, from whom the poet requested a text to help him in his task.¹ The fact that this translation had the support of the Catholic Church,² and that it incorporated several features which would also have made it attractive to Protestants (the use of Protestant sources, the use of the vernacular, the musical settings), suggests that it was intended to aid the Counter-Reformation's campaign to win back those who had gone over to Calvinism. However, these features, together with the doctrinally neutral nature of the translation, also point to a certain pragmatism, to the willingness to compromise which set Poland apart from other European countries in the Reformation period.

This thesis has also shown how Kochanowski selected and drew upon some of the best known and most influential works of the day. Passages containing clear similarities to Buchanan's Psalm paraphrases can be found in virtually every Psalm, and it is clear that this was his principal model for imitation.³

However, I have also shown both that the necessary preconditions existed in Poland for Kochanowski to have had access to, and made use of, Protestant sources,⁴ and also that he made significant use of Calvin's commentary. Despite the fact that Calvin is regarded as the best

¹ Since it is not certain that Kochanowski ever received this text or, that having received it he made use of it in his translation, it is not possible to identify this work. However, given the fact that special dispensation was given to senior members of the clergy to own texts prohibited to the laity, it seems likely that this was a translation or commentary by a senior Lutheran, or indeed Calvin's commentary.

² Wilhelm Fallek, "Świat biblijny w twórczości Kochanowskiego", *Pamiętnik zjazdu naukowego im. Jana Kochanowskiego w Krakowie 8 i 9 czerwca 1930* (Kraków, 1931), pp. 383-421 (pp. 400-401), asserts that, in addition to the support of the clergymen named above, Kochanowski received the income from lands given to him by the king, Zygmunt August, in order to provide him with an income while he worked on the Psalms: "Zygmunt August nadał mu prezentę na probostwo poznańskie, by poeta mógł spokojnie pracować nad przekładem psalmów."

³ The use of the verse translations by Hesus, Flaminus and Spinula is restricted to Psalms composed at an early date.

⁴ Following the spread of Lutheranism to Poland, the crown passed a number of laws prohibiting the importation, printing, or possession of his works. However, these laws did not apply to members of the clergy and teachers at the university at Kraków.

As Calvinism took hold in Poland, the crown retreated from this position. Indeed, Zygmunt August sent an envoy to Geneva to buy books. Not only was it now permissible to own Protestant texts but also to print them, as is demonstrated by the establishment of Calvinist publishing houses in Poland.

sixteenth-century biblical commentator,⁵ Kochanowski's reliance on this work has previously been overlooked. Indeed, Dobrzycki's decision to side-line it in favour of Pagninus' translation, for which he made a number of claims which do not hold up to a close examination of the text, has not been challenged for nearly a century.

While these findings have cast some doubt on Dobrzycki's claims, which appear to reflect a later desire to view Kochanowski as a purely Catholic writer,⁶ it does not necessarily mean that he was a Protestant. Indeed, while some of his works reveal a critical attitude towards the Catholic Church, his position is in keeping with that of humanists such as Erasmus who saw the need for reform within the Church without ever being fully recruited to the Protestant cause.

Indeed, Kochanowski's manner of composition follows closely the guidelines laid down by the humanist educators. He makes use of *imitatio* in both his Latin and vernacular works, and the classical references in his correspondence point to the use of a note-book. It should also be noted that the subject-matter of many of his verse works differs from that of the religious writers of the sixteenth century and has much in common with the works of the neo-Latinists and humanists. Indeed, the religious writers had no time for epigrams and love poetry. However, the fact that a number of his poems contain references to God indicates that he was a humanist of the late period, in which a degree of compromise had been worked out between the Church and the humanists. And it is this resulting Christian humanism which can be seen in Kochanowski's vernacular works.⁷

Thus the thesis examines not only Kochanowski's method and manner of composition, but also the relationship between *Psałterz Dawidów* and similar works written elsewhere in Europe. His debt to the achievements in western Europe is clearest in his manner of composition (not only in his use of *imitatio*, but also in terms of his development of

⁵ B. Hall, "Biblical Scholarship: Editions and Commentaries", *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 38-93 (p. 89): "Calvin's resources as an exegete made him superior to all his contemporaries if we allow his purposes in exegesis to be sufficient. He was competent in Hebrew without being a distinguished Hebraist: he had studied at Paris and at Basle under Münster whose Hebrew Old Testament appeared during Calvin's stay there. His Greek was also effective for his purpose: he can often quote the Septuagint to justify his reading of a Hebrew word or phrase. He gave his own Latin translation of the passage he expounded, frequently suggesting variant translations to bring out the force of a word."

⁶ W. Weintraub, *Rzecz czarnońska*, p. 258 cites another example of this tendency: "Odstępstwa Kochanowskiego od prawowierności [Sarbiewski] wołał bliżej nie dyskutować, ale je odnotował. Było ono dla niego problemem. Nie było problemem dla czytelników XVI wieku."

This tendency is further evidenced by W. Kochowski's poem of 1674, in which he defended Kochanowski, whose works were suspected by some in the later part of the seventeenth century as being heretical.

⁷ For example, in "Czego chcesz od nas Panie" and *Psałterz Dawidów*.

the stanza), but it is also apparent in his contribution to the genre of vernacular verse paraphrases of the Psalms.

While further work needs to be done on Kochanowski's use of Polish translations and exegetical works, it is apparent from the evidence adduced in this thesis that he made extensive use of several western European sources (specifically Calvin's commentary, Campensis' translation, and the edition by Estienne containing notes which he had adapted from the writings and lectures of the French Hebraist Vatable and a translation by Pagninus), and that he modelled his renderings on Buchanan's verse paraphrases.

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- Isidorus Vulgata æditio Veteris ac Novi Testamenti, quorum alterum ad Hebraicam, alterum ad Græcam ueritatem emendatum est diligentissime, ut noua æditio non facile desyderetur, & uetus tamen hic agnoscat: adiectis ex eruditis scriptoribus scholijs, ita ubi opus est, locupletibus, ut pro commentarijs sint: multis certe locorum millibus præsertim difficilioribus, lucem afferunt. Auctore Isidoro Clario Brixiano, monacho Casinatæ; Venice, 1542.
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 Liber Psalmorum cum translationibus quatuor, et
 paraphrasibus duabus, e regione sic positus, ut uersus uersui
 pulchre respondeat. Interpretes sunt Autor editionis uulgatæ.
 D. Hieronymus. Felix Pratensis. Sebast[ianus] Monsterus.
 Paraphrastæ, Autor Chaldæus, Ioannes Campensis;
 Strasburg, 1545.
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 Biblia Sacrosancta Testame[n]ti Veteris & Noui, e sacra
 Hebræorum lingua Græcorumque fontibus, consultis simul
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 the Vulgate and Zurich Bibles); Geneva, 1545.
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 Quincuplex Psalterium: fac-similé de l'édition de 1513;
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 Liber Psalmorum Davidis. Tralatio duplex, Vetus & Noua.
 Hæc posterior, Sanctis Pagnini, partim ab ipso Pagnino
 recognita, partim ex Francisci Vatabli Hebraicarum literarum
 professoris [...] prælectionibus emendata & expolita. Adiectæ
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 Commentariis Hebræorum ab ipso Vatablo diligenter excussis
 [...]; Paris, 1556.
- Politianus, Angelus
 Enchiridion Psalmorum ex Hebraica ueritate latinati donatum,
 & mira claritate illustratum. Item Magni Athanasij opusculum
 in Psalmos, Angelo Politiano interprete; Paris, 1533.
- Sebastian of Castile
 Biblia interprete Sebastiano Castalione. Una cum eiusdem
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- Siberus, Adam
 Psalterium Davidis Prophetæ, et Regis Hebræorum veteris
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 Accesserunt Hymni festorum dierum insignium. Et Fasti
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(c) Commentaries

- Arnobius Afrus
 Arnobii Afri, vetusti pariter aclauidatissimi scriptoris
 commentarij, pij iuxta ac sinceriter eruditi. In omnes
 psalmos, Sermone Latino, sed tum apud Afros uulgari per
 Erasmus Roterodamum prodiit & emendati; Basle, 1522.
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 Mathiæ Bredembachii Kerspensis, apud Embricam dum vixit,
 gymnasiarchæ, In LXIX Psalmos seu Hymnos Prophetæ
 Daudidis priores, & in Sanctum Iesu Christi Euangelium apud
 Matthæum, erudia, catholica & pia Commentaria. Secundum
 Hebraicam veritatem et veterum orthodoxorum patrum
 monumenta summo studio elucubrata, Et nunc primum in
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 Ioannis Pomerani Bugengagii in librum Psalmorum
 interpretatio; Basle, 1524.
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 Commentarius in librum Psalmorum; Geneva, 1578.

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- Dionysius Carthusianus D. Dionysii Carthusiani insigne commentariorum opus, in Psalmos omnes Daudicos. Quos ipse multiplici sensu, quantum fieri potuit, nempe Literali, Allegorico, Tropologico, & Anagogico (id quod nemo batenus præstitit) non nisi solidissimis sacræ scripturæ locis, doctissime explanat; Paris, 1547.
- Estienne, Henri Liber Psalmorum Daudidis, cum catholica expositione Ecclesiastica. Cantica ex diuersis Bibliorum locis, cum eadem expositione; Geneva, 1542.
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- Pozo, Martin del In omnes Psalmos David regis, autore licentiatto Martino Alphonso del Pozo Cordubensi, eiusdem item Ecclesiæ canonico magistrali. Ad Philippum Hispaniarum Regem; Compluti, 1567.
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- Westhemerus, B. *In Omnes Psalmos Davidis, Regis inclytiss[imi] atque divinissimi prophetæ Israelis, explicationes: cum ex ueteribus, tum recentioribus Patribus ueræ ac catholicæ Ecclesiæ, per Bartholomæum Vuesthemerum Phorzensem, summa diligentia ac studio collectæ*; Basle, 1566.
- Verlenius Sylvius, H. *Commentariorum libri tres in omnes Psalmos Davidicos, in quibus collatione locorum plurima diuinarum rerum mysteria eruta & explicata inuenies, & adhibitis veterum interpretum versionibus, obscurioribus scripturarum locis plurimum lucis accessisse videbis, quæ studioso Lectori immensorum voluminum & variorum glossematum vice esse poterunt*; Louvain, 1557.

(iii) French Texts

(a) Verse Texts

- Baïff, Jean-Antoine *Le Psautier de 1587. Texte inédit. Édition critique par Yves le Hir*; Paris, 1963.
- Marot, Clément and de Bèze, Théodore *Les Psaumes en vers français avec leurs mélodies: Fac-similé de l'édition genevoise de Michel Blanchier, 1562. Publié avec une introduction de Pierre Pidoux*; Geneva, 1986.

(b) Prose Texts

- Anonymous *La liure des Psalmes. (Nous auo[n]s adiousté au Liure des Psalmes, les Cantiques lesquelz sont iournelleme[n]t leuz ou cha[n]tez par les Eglises)*; [Alençon, 1530].
- Le liure des Pseaulmes de Dauide/ traduites selon la pure verite Hebraique: ensuyua[n]t principalement l'interpretation de felix priuilegee: avec les liltres/ & argume[n]t sue une chascune Pseaulme*; Anvers, 1541.
- [P]salmes de Royal Prophete Dauid. [Fi]delement traduits de Latin en Francoys. Ausquelz est adiouxte son argument, & sommaire à chascun particulierement. [...] Avec Priuilege du Roy*; Lyons, 1542.
- Pseaulmes de Dauid, Proverbes de Salomon [...] Le tout traduit de l'Ebreu en Latin & en Francoys & reduit par verset. respondant l'vne version à l'autre*; Lyons, 1558.

- Budé, Loys Les Pseaumes de David traduicts selon la verité Hebraique, avec annotations tresvtililes. Par Loys Budé; [Geneva], 1551.
- Estienne, Robert Les Pseaumes de Daud. Tant en Latin, qu'en Francois: les deux translations traduictes de l'Hebrieu, respondantes l'un a l'autre, verset a verset, notez par les nombres; Geneva, 1552.

(c) Commentaries

Le Psaultier, qui est le livre des Pseaumes de Daud: declarez par breues Annotations & gloses entre les versets, extraites des Commentaires de M. Iean Calvin. Avec Oraisons en la fin de chacun Pseaume, qui comprennent toute la substance & l'interpretation d'iceluy; Geneva, 1558.

(iv) Italian Texts

(a) Verse Texts

- Anonymous Sessanta Salmi di David, tradotti in rime volgari Italiane, secondo la verita del testo Hebreo, col cantico di Simeone, e i dieci commandamenti de la Lege: ogni cosa insieme col canto; Geneva, 1566.
- Marmochini, Santi La Bibbia Tradotta in Lingua Toscana, di lingua Hebbrea, per il Reuerendo Maetro Santi Marmochini Fiorentino dell'ordine de predicatori, con molte cose vtilissime, & degne di memoria. [...] a tutti i salmi di Dauitte, quali per altri sono stati tradotti in prosa, nuouamente sono traslatati in versi volgari misurati [...]. Con priuilegio del Senato Veneto [...]; Venice, 1546.
- Minturno, Antonio Del S. Antonio Sebastiano Minturno vescovo d'Vgento Canzoni sopra i Salmi; Naples, 1561.
- Perrotto, Francesco Perle elette di Francesco Perrotto, cavate da quel tesoro infinito di CL Salmi di David. Divisi in tre parti, et nove canti; Geneva, 1576.
- Ringhieri, Innocentio Il Psalterio di Davide. In ottava rima, Tradotto per M. Innocentio Ringhieri: Gentilhuomo Bolognese; [Bologna, c. 1550].
- Tasso, Bernardo Salmi di Messer Bernardo Tasso. Con Privilegio; Venice, 1560.

(b) Prose Texts

- Anonymous I Salmi di Davidi Tradotti dalla Lingua Hebraea nella Italiana. Diuisi in cinque parti. [...] Con priuilegio del Re; Paris, 1562.
- Albara, Gasparo Il Salterio Secondo La Bibbia de i Salmi di David, et de gli altri santi profeti (This edition provides a vernacular introduction to each Psalm, the text of which is given as it appears in the Vulgate); Venice, 1571.

- Brucioli, Antonio I Sacri Psalmi di David, distinti in cinque libri, Tradotti dalla Ebraica uerita in lingua toscana, & con nuouo co[m]mento dichiarati per Antonio Brucioli. Con Gratia et Priuilegio dello Inclito Senato Veneto [...]; Venice, 1534.
- Heri, Pellegrino I Salmi di David Tradotti con bellissimo e dolti[ss]imo stile dalla lingua Ebraea, nella Latina e uolgare, dal S. Pellegrin Heri Modonese [...]. Con Privilegio; Venice, 1573.
- Phileto, Silvio Il Psalterio di Dauitte: & di altri Propheti del testamento vecchio: Per Siluio Phileto Romano gia di latino in volgare tradotto: & nouamente con ogni cura & diligentia stampato [...] (This edition is a vernacular translation of the Vulgate text); Venice, 1524.
- Pittorio, Lodovico I Salmi di Dauid per Lodouico Pittorio da Ferrara moralme[n]te in forma di Omeliario col latino all'incontro dechiarati, & di sententia in sententia uolagarizati (This edition contains the Vulgate text together with a vernacular paraphrase of each Psalm); Venice, 1547.
- Pozzo, Giuoan Francesco da Salmi di David dall'Ebraica all nostra comune volgar lingua con gran diligentia giudicio, & elegante secondo il senso tradotti' Venice, 1548.

(c) Commentaries

- Savonarola, Hieronymo Le Prediche dil Reverendo Padre Frate Hieronimo Savonarola da Ferrara, Sopra li Salmi, & molte altre notabilissime materie, a qualunque predicatore dil verbo diuino vtilissime, Nuouamente riuiste & con ogni diligentia corette. (This work contains Psalms 4, 11, 13, 45, 63, 89, 90, 121, 124, and 149); Venice, 1543.

(v) Works in English translation

- Anonymous The Bible translated according to the Ebrew and Greeke, and conferred with the best translations in diuers languages (An English translation of the Geneva Bible); London, 1597.
- The Holy Bible. Translated from the Latin Vulgate and diligently compared with other editions in diuers languages (Douay, A.D. 1609; Rheims, A.D. 1582); London 1914.
- The Book of Psalms. Translated from the Latin Vulgate. Being a revised edition of the Douay version; London, 1871.
- Bèze, Théodore de The Psalmes of Dauid, truly opened and explaned by Paraphrasis, according to the right sense of euerie Psalme. [...] Set foorth in Latine by that excellent learned man Theodore Beza. And faithfully translated into English, by Anthonie Gileie, and by him newly purged from sundrie faultes escaped in the first print; [London], 1581.

- Calvin, John Commentary on the Book of Psalms by John Calvin. Translated from the original Latin, and collated with the author's French versions, by the Rev. James Anderson (5 vols.); Edinburgh, 1845-1849.
- Campensis, Ioannes A Paraphrasis upon all the Psalmes of Daud, made by Johannes Campensis, reader of the Hebrue lecture in the uniuersitie of Louane, and translated out of Latine into Englysshe; London, 1539.
- Felinus, Aretius The Psalter of David, Aretius Felinus, 1530; introduction by G.E.Duffield (a facsimile edition of Francis Foxe's 1530 translation of the Latin Psalms by Martin Bucer); Abingdon, 1971.
- Zwingli Dauids Psalter, diligently and faithfully tra[n]slated by George Joye, with breif Arguments before euery Psalme, declaringe theeffecte thereof; 1534.

(B) Miscellaneous

- Kochanowski, Jan Ioann. Cochanovi Elegiarum Libri IIII. Eiusdem Foricœnia siue Epigrammatum libellus; Kraków, 1584.
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